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Vol I

TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUCHESS OF CAMBRIDGE.

&c. &c. &c.

MADAM;

If dedications have not entirely ceased to be considered the genuine offsprings of grateful hearts, I dare to hope your Royal Highness will receive the following pages in humble token of my acknowledgment of the condescension and favour bestowed on me during my late residence in Hanover.

I have the honour to remain,

Madam,

Your Royal Highness's

obliged and most obedient servant,

J. H. STOCQUELER.

85021

London, July, 1832.

INTRODUCTION.

When the writer of the following pages left India, in February 1831, it was with the view of making an expeditious journey to England by a beaten road. He had not therefore prepared himself by a diligent course of reading, for the composition of an "overland journey," and indeed, it is doubtful, seeing how many of those productions, added to the travels of eminent men, have issued from the press of late years, he could have brought himself to think that any addition to the public stock of knowledge regarding Persia, Asia Minor, and Europe, was

called for. He had not, however, got fairly upon Persian ground before he became the sport of chance, and unable to carry into effect his original plans, was thrown into parts of Khuzistàn and Irân, which he found had never been trodden by Europeans. This first suggested to him the propriety of keeping a more accurate journal than would suffice for his own purpose, and of devoting some attention to the topography of the *terra incognita*, in view to general utility. As he advanced, his motives for close observation increased. The political condition of Persia furnished matter for thought and speculation, and the opening of trade between Great Britain and the Asiatic shores of the Black Sea likewise attracted attention. The latter object seemed to demand extended notice, for though the Earl of Aberdeen, when foreign secretary, wisely appointed a consul to Trebisond, in order to create an opening for the further consumption of British manufactured goods, yet so completely had the mercantile

interest in England been kept in the dark on the subject, that little had been done when the writer reached Trebisond, to promote the due consummation of the views of the government.

Reaching Europe at the close of the Polish war, several circumstances occurred to the writer, worthy, as it appeared to him, of record, not the least of which was his rencontre with the illustrious Skyrznecki, an event that the writer will remember to the latest moment of his life with pride and satisfaction. To this inducement to the sin of publication may be added the opportunities possessed by the writer of acquiring some knowledge of the courts of Hanover and Berlin, and of the state of feeling in Holland.

These circumstances, combined with a detail of more personal adventure than falls to the lot of ordinary tourists, constitute the writer's apology for challenging public notice. He fears that great exception will be taken to the loose and hurried manner in which his thoughts

and observations have been committed to paper, but he will hope for a little indulgence, when he affirms that circumstances, which call him away from his native country, have precluded his submitting his manuscript in the first instance to any literary or book-making acquaintances.

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he had predicted we should. The voyage was, as most voyages are during a favourable season, as pleasant as gentle gales, sunny skies, and moonlight nights could make it, and at the same time as monotonous as it could be rendered in the absence of society, a clear deck, (for ours was covered with cotton bales and rice bags,) and varied scenery.

Reaching Muscat on the 3rd of March, after an absence from Bombay of eleven days, I took up my quarters at the house of *Reuben Aslan*, a Jew agent for the Bombay Government, and was treated with as much cordiality as if I had been "one of the tribe of Israel." Conformably to custom, I intimated to his highness the Imaum my desire to pay my respects in person, and was soon afterwards informed that his highness was prepared to receive me. The visit was one of considerable interest. The Imaum's palace was close to the water's edge in front of the town, and his highness received Reuben and myself in an arbour or veranda open to the sea. At the entrance to the veranda stood several well dressed Arabs armed with

sword, spear, and dagger, and half a dozen dirty looking Abyssinians clothed somewhat like the sepoys of our Indian army, and equipped much after the same fashion. These latter, as I understood, were paraded in honour of my visit; and indeed generally form the *garde du corps* on occasions of an Englishman's presentation at the *Court of Muscat*. The Imaum rose on our entrance and accommodated us with chairs, and after we had been served with some insipid sherbet, addressed himself to me on the subject of my journey, its object and direction; and then touched on the politics of Europe.

He had heard of the French revolution in 1830, and was anxious to know if the king of England had consented to recognize Louis-Phillipe, and whether the revolution had spread itself into neighbouring countries. I gave his highness, through the interpretation of a young Arab naval officer, who spoke English with uncommon fluency, an account of the Belgium and Brunswick insurrections, (of which alone we had received any intimation when I left India,) and finished by congratulating him on the

happy contrast furnished by the peaceable and healthy condition of his own possessions. Our interview closed by his highness offering me the use of his horses, his houses, and his ships of war, the cabins of which afforded excellent accommodation, and which were generally occupied by English visitors. I thanked his highness and retired.

Seid Syud, the Imaum of Muscat, has often been noticed by travellers from India, and indeed it would be uncourteous at any time to pass over all mention of a prince who seems to take so much real pleasure in contributing to the comfort and convenience of his European guests. He is a mild, gentlemanly looking man of about forty years of age,—a warrior and a trader, a just governor and a chivalric lover: I believe his present wife is a Persian lady of noble birth, the possession of whom cost him an expedition against the Sheikh of Bushire. The people of Muscat, if not all the Arabs of the Persian gulph, hold the Imaum in great esteem. They affirm that he is just in his dealings and decisions, liberal of reward, anxious for im-

provement, and tolerant of the religions of other nations. They believe him to be invincible, and perhaps, in relation to the force of other Mahomedan chiefs, he may deserve the title. In time of war 10,000 men readily flock to his standard, and prove by their zeal, their regard for his interests. His naval strength consists of twelve large vessels, including a 74 gun ship, and a frigate of 44 guns, both of which have had the honour of spending their best days in the British service, and are now reposing within the cove of Muscat. Colonel Macdonald Kinneir, in his travels through Asia Minor, expresses his fears that "the rising naval power" of this prince may be a subject of serious inconvenience to us, in the event of any European power invading India; but, independent of the consideration, that on the occurrence of such a calamity the Imaum would in all probability support *our* interests, it should be borne in mind that he has neither pecuniary means, nor a naval population sufficiently ample to enable him at once to man and equip a force of sufficient extent, to justify any alarm on that head.

The Imaum of Muscat is passionately fond of horses, and devotes considerable time and attention to their breeding. I visited his stables, and there saw about forty sleek, symmetrical, high-blooded, unshod stallions, twenty mares from Cutch and Bahrein, four mules, and a few milch camels; some of the horses were however suffering much from the diseases horseflesh "is heir to," and the man entrusted with their care and cure, appeared to possess little essential veterinary knowledge. Besides which, there are no means of exercising the animals at Muscat, and of thus contributing to their restoration to health when once afflicted. Of some of the finest horses in his stud, the Imaum makes presents to the governors of the Indian presidencies, and deserving officers in his own service. Horses likewise form an article of trade between Muscat and India, and yield, as I have been told, a considerable profit. During my stay his highness sent me one of his stud, with a guide, to enable me to thread the mazes of the town and examine the environs. Good feeding and little exertion had rendered the animal rather unruly; and as I had only a

snaffle I found it no easy matter to curb him. With the blessing of God, however, I tore through narrow alleys, nicknamed streets, bobbed my head every twenty yards rather than kiss the projecting beams and roofs of houses; scampered over two miles of stones and rocks, and returned safely; more gratified with my own skill in equitation, than with any thing I had seen.

I left Muscat* after a week's stay, and we proceeded with a cargo of hides and matting on our voyage to Bushire. We had parted with our scientific navigator, for, as the rest of the voyage lay along the coast, with every point and head-land of which the Arabs are well acquainted, no further guide was necessary. There were two seacunnies, or quarter masters, on board, who steered by an English compass, but in every other respect things were conducted in a most unseamanlike manner. The Arabs, though hardy and muscular, are very inexpert sailors, and so tardy in their movements that they occupy as much time in furling

* See Appendix A.

the main sail and hoisting the main yard, as it would take an English crew of a quarter the extent, to reef the whole canvas and put the vessel about. Every occupation of the Islamite seamen, however trifling it may be, is invariably accompanied by the drowsy carol of some superannuated *calassee*, kept expressly for the purpose, while, on important occasions, a whole band of drum, tambourine, and cymbal-beaters, is called into requisition, and setting the heels, hands, and tongues of the ship's company in motion, produces a picture of merry labour that must be seen to be adequately understood.

In person, the Arab sailors are extremely filthy. The coarse shirt with which their persons are invested, is rarely, I may say *never*, taken off during the whole voyage, and the only ablutions in which they indulge, are those trifling lavements of the hands, feet, and face, which precede and follow the evening meal of boiled rice and dates. I found the Arabs extremely willing to render me any little service of which I stood in need, but I never knew them return thanks for any kindness or atten-

tion bestowed on them. They prefer reciprocating good offices, to an indulgence in superfluous acknowledgments.

The voyage to Bushire offered very little of novelty or entertainment—at any rate, little worth recording. We proceeded cautiously along the coast, running into different little bays, and dropping anchor when furious *shumauls*, or north-westers, interrupted our course, and occasionally supplying ourselves with fish and fresh water.* Navigators and travellers

* An extract from my journal of the 21st of March will convey a notion of the character of the places visited.

21st. The N. W. wind continuing, we went about and took refuge in the little harbour of *Th' arree*. The town, situated at the foot of a range of sandy hills, and composed of low, flat-roofed dwellings of the same materials as the hills, would to any but the eye of a sea voyager, wearied with the monotony of sea and sky, present an uninteresting appearance, being only diversified with a few date and other trees. To me, however, it was inexpressibly grateful. In order to procure a supply of fresh water, the nacquodah proposed going on shore and taking one of the water tanks in the *mutchwah*, or jolly boat. I accompanied him. On reaching shore the surf was found to be running so high that we were compelled to jump into the water, and wade up to our breasts, before we could reach the beach. Our men immediately pro-

have already sufficiently described the scenery and natural productions of the Persian gulph: it is not necessary, therefore, to say more than that I saw enough of sand and rock to confirm

ceeded to fill their goat skins (*jerrbhas*) with water from a neighbouring well; and I wandered about, taking a Seedy as my guide to inspect the town. The houses are built of stone and sand, with a cement compounded of mud and straw. They appear to be thickly inhabited, but the inhabitants are very poor. They are principally fishermen. I visited a pottery, and found the manufacturers (Persians) engaged in making hookah bottles and chillums, chatties, jars, and water bottles. Inquiring for some fish, the guide and I were directed to a spot half a mile distant, where fifty men were engaged in hauling their nets on shore. They had a famous draught of large fish about the size of salmon, but coloured like the mackerel. I purchased thirty or forty for half a dollar. These fish are called by the natives *goobabs*. They gave me four or five of a different quality, resembling the cod in flavour, but spotted red on the belly; these they called *sodés*; the flesh of the former is red, that of the latter, white, and deliciously flavoured. Judging from the great number of sparrows, swallows, butterflies, wasps, beetles and ants, which I saw during an hour's stay at this place, I should imagine the climate to be extremely temperate and salubrious. The thermometer, in the morning, was 68°. The water from the wells is sweet and clear. Ophthalmia appeared to be as prevalent here as at Muscat or on board. The men dress like the better kind of Arabs;

the representations of my predecessors, and was as much delighted with the luminous aspect of the *medusæ* as a perusal of Moore's Lalla Rookh led me to expect I should be.

On the 25th of March we reached Bushire, where the Hon. Company's frigate Clive was lying at anchor. I accepted an invitation to dine with the captain, and as he was to sail the next morning I took the opportunity of writing to Bombay.

March 26.—This morning, on the invitation of Captain Hennell, the acting political resident, I went on shore and took up my quarters in an apartment politely assigned me in the British residency.

Bushire, or Abusheer, or Bender Busheer, as it is variously called, has lost a considerable portion of its commercial importance of late years. It still, however, continues a useful channel of communication between the British

the women, in blue chadres with masks and a strip of silver or gold down the centre. The coins, in currency here are the Persian karoon, three and a half of which are equivalent to a dollar, and the *gaz*, a copper coin used at Muscat.

authorities in India and their delegates in Persia, at the same time that it furnishes a convenient resort to the vessels of war, constantly cruising about the gulph to prevent the regeneration of piracy. The climate of Bushire, though tolerably salubrious during the winter months, is insufferably hot at other seasons, and has proved the grave of many estimable Europeans. They repose, for the most part, in the veranda of the Armenian church; and flat, reddish stones, brought from Shiraz, indicate their ages, name, and qualities. In the cemetery attached to this tabernacle, is a small school kept up by the Armenians. It was founded by the famous Joseph Wolff, the converted Israelite, and its objects having appeared to be of extensive utility, the British residents in Persia, with Sir John Macdonald at their head, subscribed the sum of 700*l.* in view to their attainment. Mr. Wolff's interest in the institution ceased, however, with his brief stay; for though some years have elapsed since his departure, none of the fair promises he made have

yet been realized. The school possessed, while I was at Bushire, no more than thirteen pupils, who were struggling through the rudiments of the Persian and Armenian languages, under the guidance of a sleepy old Armenian.

CHAPTER II.

Sail to Grane—Description of Grane, or Koete—Vexations—Depart for, and reach Bussorah—An Armenian functionary—Court of Conscience—A bath—The Residency Garden—The French Consul—Leave for Bagdad—Mallahs, or Trackers—Voyage up the Euphrates—Gomruck—Cross the Arabian Irâk—Meet the British Resident—Sad News—Beat a Retreat to Bussorah.

April 1.—The buggala having discharged the greater part of her cargo, we again set sail this morning. The immediate and final destination of the buggala was Grane or Koete, at the extremity of the west coast of the Persian Gulph, but as I had bargained for a passage to Bussorah, I refused, through Captain Hennell's obliging agency, to go to Grane, un-

less the owners undertook subsequently to send me on to Bussorah. To this they consented, and we accordingly departed.

The wind being contrary, it took us three days to reach our destination. Our arrival was announced from the vessel by numerous discharges from a rusty old six-pounder, mounted on a decayed wooden carriage. The first discharge knocked off one wheel, the second carried off two others, the third split the carriage in twain, and for the rest the gun was coolly laid upon the bare deck and suffered to caper *à discretion*. It was fine sport to the sailors, who certainly are not deficient in courage and daring, however indifferently they may serve artillery.

April 4.—It blew a hard gale all day. The town appeared completely enveloped in the dust of the surrounding desert; and the motion of the buggala, though at anchor, was most unpleasant.

5th.—The gale having been followed by a calm, I sent my servant on shore. He returned about 9 A. M. with milk, butter, &c.; and the

intelligence that it was the wish of the owner of the buggala that we should go on shore and stay a few days, until a vessel could be got ready for Bussorah. Hearing this, I determined to proceed at once, and expressed my resolution not to be detained on any pretext. After breakfast I went on shore, and was conducted to the owner's house. Passing through two or three courtyards, I reached an apartment arched in the centre, where the owner and his two brothers were seated smoking. They were all dressed alike, and so much resembling each other in feature, and in the total loss of the left eye, that it was difficult to discover my friend the supracargo, who had accompanied us from Bombay. After the usual salutations, I expressed my wish to proceed the following day to Bussorah, and found that the determined tone in which I spoke had the desired effect. I was promised that a buggara* should instantly be prepared. After taking coffee, milk, bread, and hulwah, I left Abdul Assan's (the owner's) house to take a stroll about the town.

* A smaller class of vessel.

Koete, or Grane as it is called in the maps, is in extent about a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad. It consists of houses built of mud and stone, occasionally faced with coarse chunam, and may contain about four thousand inhabitants. The houses being for the most part square in form, with a courtyard in the centre, (having the windows looking into the yard,) present but a very bare and uniform exterior, like, indeed, all the houses in the Persian Gulph. They have flat roofs, composed of the trunk of the date tree. The streets of Koete are wider than those of Muscat or Bushire, with a gutter running down the centre. A wall surrounds the town on the desert face, but it is more for show than protection, as it is not a foot thick. To keep up the farce, however, a trench has been dug around the wall, and two honeycombed pieces of ordnance protect each of the three gates. Beyond the wall nothing is to be seen but a vast sandy plain, extending to a distance of more than sixty miles. Not a tree, not a shrub affords the eye a momentary relief.

Koete within the walls is equally sterile, it literally yields *nothing;* and when to this is added the fact of the water being far from sweet, it is difficult to conjecture how such a site could have been chosen for the establishment of four hundred families.

I was informed that the Arabs had only been in possession of the place about one hundred and fifty years, and that previously to that period it was occupied by *Englishmen* and their forces, who received or conquered it from the Portuguese, in whose hands it enjoyed some notoriety during the plenitude of their importance in India.

It certainly is a commodious harbour for small craft, and may probably have been occupied by the Portuguese, (the English could have had nothing to do with it,) on account of the command it gives over the mouth of the river of the Arabs, and the power it thus conferred of interrupting the Turkish and Venetian trade with India.

Koete is governed by a sheikh, who keeps up

no armed force. He levies a duty of two per cent. upon all imports.

While I was at Koete a body of Wahabee Arabs, with their black tents, camels, and white asses, were encamped without the walls. The men appeared to have good-natured faces, mixed with a little cunning; and many wore their hair arranged in small plaits, and falling about the face. Their women seemed fair and tall.

The circumstance which struck me as most singular in Koete was the exact uniformity of costume amongst all ranks and ages, and the fact of there being no natives of any other country resident in the place.

I left the shore at three P. M., and returned on board, after having afforded as much amusement by my singular appearance in the European costume as I had derived from my visit. Hundreds followed me to the shore, gazing at every part of my dress with the utmost astonishment. This arose, I understood, from my having been almost the only European who has visited the place for many years.

6th.—Soon after breakfast I received a visit from the owner of the buggala, for whom I prescribed a blister. The *buggara*, a smaller kind of vessel than the buggala, and which was intended to convey us to Bussorah, came off about noon, and all my things were packed up to be put on board, when a furious altercation arose between Abdul Assan and the nacquodah of the buggara regarding the amount of passage money, which ended in the buggara going off without us. I was greatly incensed, but the owner of the buggala solemnly avowed his intention to go on shore and send a vessel instantly for our accommodation. After a time he went off, and I then learnt from one of my fellow passengers, a Persian, that the ground of dispute between the two boat owners was the refusal of the buggara owner to take cargo to Bussorah in addition to passengers, and not his refusal to carry us for the stipulated sum. This added to my vexation, but I resolved to wait the night through before taking any steps. Night came on, and no buggara—patience!

7th.—At daylight I roused my servant,

and ordered him to go on shore in the jolly-boat, and hire a vessel on my own account. The people on board refused to accompany him. I then dressed and declared my resolution to go myself; on which two of them stepped forward and offered to go. I accordingly sent them, authorizing them to procure another buggara for me. On their way, however, they encountered the clerk and nacquodah of the buggala, who reported that a *botelho** had been hired, and was coming off for us; upon which my servant returned. Soon after the botelho arrived; and having put every thing on board, and arranged the stern part of the vessel into something like a cabin, we embarked and set sail about 4 P. M. The wind was fair, but at nightfall it shifted to N. W., and the tide had also set against us: we therefore ran close in shore, and anchored for the night.

8th.—At day-break, after the *sobeh*, or morning prayer, the usual pipe and coffee, we weighed anchor, and proceeded on our voyage. A head

* A vessel of still smaller dimensions.

wind prevailing all day, we could only make use of the tide, which, turning at two o'clock, we anchored in shoal water until evening, then weighed a second time, and pursued our course into the *Shut-ul-Arab*, (River of the Arabs,) and there anchored for the night.

9th.—Woke at day-break, and found, to my inexpressible delight, that we had taken leave of the sea, and were now in a river, the banks of which are lined by date groves, high grass, hemp, &c. It was extremely cold; the thermometer at 62°, and the N. Wester still blowing. The sight of the river's banks (beneath which Richmond would at this moment have fallen in comparison,) the freshness of the air, and the smoothness of the water, combined to produce sensations of the most exquisite description, and well repaid all the perils, privations, and inconveniences of the voyage up the gulf in a buggala. In the middle of the day the thermometer rose to 76°, and as there was no wind, the tide against us, and the awning of the cabin very slight, the heat was extremely unpleasant while we lay at anchor.

10th.—This morning, before day-break, we reached *Mahummarah*, the principal town and port in the Chabean territory. Its western side faces the Shut-ul-Arab, while its northern side commands the mouth of the Karoon. Here we got rid of the rest of our cargo, and soon after eight A. M. pursued our voyage. The scenery presented the same agreeable aspect; date groves, rich grass, and green reeds on either bank; boats of all dimensions and descriptions covering the surface of the stream. At ten o'clock P. M. we reached Bussorah, and anchored nearly opposite the narrow creek which bounds the northern wall of the town.

Early the next morning I landed at Bussorah, and presented a letter of introduction to Aga Pharseigh Johannes, the British agent and *locum tenens* of Major Taylor, the political resident, who was then at Bagdad. Aga Pharseigh informed me, that intelligence had lately been received from Bagdad, of the appearance there of a complaint which was feared to be the plague, and which would prevent my proceeding at that moment, even if it did not compel

my return to Bushire; farther, that the Pacha of Bagdad and Grand Signor were at war, and that it therefore would be imprudent to attempt at any time, to go to Constantinople by the route I intended. In the mean time, apartments were assigned me contiguous to the residency, and I devoted my attention to an inquiry into the political situation and statistics of Bussorah,* and in practising on sick Turks the profession I had adopted as my travelling character—that of a hakeem, or physician. Every morning Pharseigh held a divan, which was "numerously and respectably attended" by Armenians, Persians, Turks, Jews, and Arabs, and furnished amusing instances of the Aga's pride and "insolence of office," and the servility and sycophancy of his visitors. The Aga appeared to possess much influence amongst these people, evidently acquired by mere force of character, but strengthened by the position he occupied as the representative of British interests. Through his means, the consequence of the Moollahs, Cazees, and other adminis-

* See Appendix, B.

trators of the law, had been essentially reduced; for the arbitrement of the Aga had long been found more convenient and independent than the decisions of these sage interpreters of Mahomet's dogmas. I will not pretend to draw a comparison between the *purity* of the Aga's court of *conscience*, and the halls of *justice* legally established, for I suspect that the *auri sacra fames* had equal weight in the scales in either court; but I must do Mr. Pharseigh the justice to allow, that on all questions between Englishmen and Mussulmans, his judgments rested on a tolerably fair basis. One morning I went into his hall of audience, and there found a captain of a trading vessel from Calcutta at issue with a Persian broker. It seems the Persian had bargained for five pieces of broad cloth, but had subsequently found that he could not turn them to the expected account. He therefore had denied the transaction, and refused to receive the goods. The captain, however, seriously affirmed that the purchase had been effected, and that he considered the cloth the property of the Persian. The lying propen-

sities of the Mussulman, and the acknowledged integrity of Mr. Mitchell, the captain, being duly balanced, the Aga decided, in the absence of further evidence, that the Persian should take three of the pieces, and the captain retain two.

13th.—I had the curiosity to rise early this morning, and have an experimental bath *à la Turque*. My first impressions were any thing but agreeable; but the operation itself I thought far from unpleasant, setting aside the repugnance an Englishman naturally feels to the embrace of a muscular half-naked Persian. Entering the hummaum, I found myself suddenly in an apartment resembling a vaulted cellar, dimly lighted by small apertures, and glazed sky-lights in the dome. Stone and brick benches, covered with cloths and coarse carpets, were ranged along the walls, and there was a fire-place where coffee and chibouks were prepared, and cloths dried. Having been required to strip, and a cloth tied round my waist, I was led into a second apartment filled with steam, and of so high a temperature, that in one

instant I lost my breath, and in the next was streaming from every pore. I anticipated a speedy dissolution of my "solid flesh;" but on reaching a third apartment, (all vaulted and lighted, or rather darkened alike,) I had become somewhat relieved. In this apartment were four cisterns nearly level with the floor, into which the hot water was drawn by cocks placed in the wall above. As soon as I had decided that the water was hot enough. I was placed by the side of one of the cisterns, and then the operation commenced.

Act 1.—Deluged with hot water from the hands of a stout Persian.

Act 2.—Conducted by said Persian to a stone ottoman in the centre of the room, and caused to sit down.

Act 3.—My whole body kneaded by the fists of the aforesaid; joints cracked, ears pulled, mustachios dyed, limbs rubbed with a hair-cloth glove.

Act 4.—Enveloped in warm towels, and served with a pipe.

Act 5.—Wiped dry; led into the outer apartment, dressed and—*Exit.*

Bussorah furnishes but few *agrémens* to the visitor. I passed many hours in the garden of the residency, which, though sadly neglected in the absence of Major Taylor, is wonderfully rich, and yields many of the productions of Europe, as well as of all parts of Asia. Apricots, peaches, apples, pears, plums, and quinces, are found in as great abundance as grapes, limes, plantains, mulberries, figs, roses, myrtles, holly-oaks, cabbages, capsicum, marjorum, and Indian corn. I likewise spent much time in the society of a young and intelligent French abbé, who was residing at Bussorah, as chargé d'affaires. He had twice crossed the desert between Syria to Bagdad, visiting Palmyra in his way, in the disguise of an Arab; and though he avowed his profession—a profession ever held in veneration by these rude tribes—he encountered great perils and privations. He had been sent to Bussorah by the worthy old bishop of Babylon, resident at Bagdad, in order to restore the Catholic convent and church, which for thirty years had been totally neglected, and received powers to combine political

with his clerical pursuits. He found the ancient French factory and Christian convent in a sad state of filth and decay: the church plate, the library, the altar of the chapel, every thing mutilated, pilfered, or concealed by the dust; and he was engaged, on my first visit, in the Herculean occupation of cleansing this second Augea. Though ardently devoted to his holy calling, the Abbé was gay, frank, and liberal; and would descant as freely upon the relative merits of the *drapeau blanc* and the *tricolor*, as upon the agency of the Holy Virgin in procuring a remission of sins, or the infallibility of the occupant of the Vatican.

The rumours regarding the plague being exceedingly vague and contradictory, I determined to delay no longer the prosecution of my journey. Accordingly, arrangements were made for procuring me a boat with six trackers, and five soogmanies, or musketeers, who were to protect my person and property on the Euphrates and Tigris.

April 17.—"Once more upon the waters." The difficult part of my trip was now to com-

mence. Armed cap-a-pee, and attired as an Arab, without however possessing any knowledge of Arabic beyond what I had gleaned in the buggala; with a tolerably good servant who spoke Hindostanee, Persian, and Arabic, a well-stored medicine chest, and a determination not to resort to my weapons excepting in cases of great urgency; good health, some patience, and an ardent enthusiasm in the undertaking, I started from Bussorah.

17th.—As soon as we had got out of the creek, we found both wind and tide had set against us. The *mallahs*, or trackers, immediately stripped, placing their clothes on their heads, and sprang on shore. A rope was passed from the mast-head to a girdle round their respective bodies, and off they set along the banks; sometimes, on reaching creeks, irrigating channels, or unequal projections, plunging up to their necks, and wading or swimming with their burthen, as the depth or shallowness of the water required. In this way all the communication up the Tigris and Euphrates is carried on when the wind blows down those

rivers. The business of tracking, as may be conceived, is extremely fatiguing and dangerous: in fact, so excellent a test does it furnish of the muscular powers and courage of man, that the heads of the Mallah tribes require that each Mallah should make three trips to Bagdad, as a tracker, before he can be qualified for the married state and the care of a family.

We made no great progress this day, for before night-fall we were picqueted close to *Megill*, where the British resident has a country-house; and were regaled all night with the croaking of frogs and the screaming of jackalls.

18th.—At day-light this morning, the wind veered round to the south, and we set sail with a fine breeze. At eight o'clock, reached a place called *Kuzzeem*, off which were lying two vessels of war, belonging to the Motesellim of Bussorah. A man came on board to levy certain duties on merchandize; but finding we had none, he left us without further question. Saw a flock of pelicans. At nine o'clock, passed Gorna, or Koornah, and entered the Euphrates. The whole of our course this day, lay between

groves of those rich and various date trees, which are the Arab's pride, and almost his sole sustenance.* In the evening, we reached a small village, (Mansuri,) composed of reed-built and matted huts, the population of which came out to see us. The sheikh of the village came on board and demanded *gomruck*, or toll, which, however, I was instructed not to pay; but, to rid myself of the company of this gentleman, and the contiguity of his village, I made him a present of a couple of piastres, with which he seemed satisfied, and departed. It occurs to me here, to notice an error into which some travellers have fallen, in regard to this term *gomruck*. Several have supposed it to be the names of places on the Tigris and Euphrates, and have accordingly so described certain spots on different maps. Murray, in his volumes of

* Macdonald Kinneir, in his journey through Asia Minor, mentions that there are not less than forty different kinds of date trees; and Sir John Malcolm has, in his "History of Persia," an anecdote of an old Arab nurse, who having visited England, and found there no date trees, elicited from her friends to whom she mentioned the circumstance, an ejaculation of surprise and horror.

Voyages and Travels in Asia, gives us a "Gomreck" on the left bank of the Euphrates—Keppel on that of the Tigris: whereas, it seems to mean a duty, or custom, levied on all boats passing by, at the will and pleasure of certain self-governed tribes of Arabs.

We halted for the night close to a marsh, beyond which lay plains of cultivation. Myriads of musquitoes and large gnats were the companions of my vigils.

19th.—Our trackers were this morning at work before sun-rise. Saw, and had a shot at, several wild ducks: varieties of the king-fisher tribe, pelicans, and crows with white bodies and black wings, were likewise seen in considerable numbers. The shore still bordered with date groves, divided by extensive plains covered with rice, barley, wheat, &c. We passed several little islands, some of which were in a state of cultivation, others mere swamps, on which were numerous turtles, wild geese, and pelicans. At about noon, we reached *Sook-u-Shoogh*, or *Sook-u-Sook*, (the sheikh's mart, or the mart of marts, for so I have heard it indifferently

called). It is the chief possession of the Montefikhs, a powerful tribe of Arabs, who are spread about the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and levy contributions on all travellers who do not enjoy the protection of the British resident. The boatmen purchased rice at this mart, and we resumed our voyage. Above Sook-u-Shoogh, for about five miles, the banks of the river abounded with the most luxurious vegetation. Pomegranate trees in full blossom, apricot trees, and date groves, formed a complete forest. The passage of our boat close in shore, disturbed numerous snipe and sand-pipers, which, with the speckled black-and-white king-fisher, tenanted the banks. In our way, we were hailed from the shore as to our cargo and destination; but, as the wind was favourable, the boatmen would not lay to, contenting themselves with calling out that they were "carrying a Feringee to Bagdad." The weather was now extremely mild: thermometer at noon at 74°.

20th.—On rising this morning, I found we were tracking through *El Bourg*, the first

branch of a narrow circuitous channel which connects the Euphrates with the Tigris. We had hitherto proceeded up the Euphrates because the lower banks of the Tigris were infected by tribes, whom it was desirable to avoid. The part of the Irak Arabi, which we were now crossing, was for the first eight or ten hours spread as far as the eye could reach with barley, rice, and wheat. At three P. M. we reached *Gul-ut-Mahommed*, where we were caused to stop; and a sheikh came on board with a small party of friends to demand gomruck. We showed him that we had no merchandize, but he nevertheless made a demand for money, and, the more readily to extract it, sent us a present of a sheep. I gave him a piece of chintz of no value in return, affirming, as a matter of policy, that I was without money. For two hours we continued working through the *Bourg*, and then, spite of mud-banks and eddies without number, we got into the *Hye*; and here we took leave of the cultivators and their neighbourhood. The banks of the Hye, or *El Hāi*, appeared covered with brushwood

and tamarisk to the water's edge; the partridge, dove, and other game, were now seen more frequently than the snipe and wild duck, and the Irak, to the north and south, was studded with the habitation of the Arabian shepherd and his flocks and his herds. The whole scene reminded me of a description I have somewhere met with in a French author:

"Ou on ne voit sur le rivage,
Que quelques vilains troupeaux,
Suivis de nymphes de village,
Qui les escortent sans sabots."

Many of these "nymphes" wore dresses of plaid, and had altogether a wild Highland air.

21st.—On leaving my cabin this morning, I found the soogmanies employed in cleaning their arms. They counselled me to keep my pistols loaded, and at hand, as we were approaching a part of the river where attacks from the brigands, who abound in these regions, might be expected. About mid-day, we passed a building within a few yards of the water's edge, resembling a fortress, but which proved to be only a penfold; for scarcely were we

abreast of it, than numerous flocks of sheep and goats issued from the main portal. There are many such buildings along the banks of these rivers, and up the Ahwas and Karoon streams, and their style of architecture is singularly characteristic of the people by whom they are erected. As *they* unite the warrior profession with the shepherd's peaceful craft, so do their penfolds combine the external aspect of a fortress with the simple purpose of enclosing flocks.

Towards evening we met a large passage boat coming from Bagdad, and filled with passengers. They called out that the plague had broken out with great violence in Bagdad, and that every body, including the British resident and suite, was retreating. On learning this, I judged it prudent to lay-to, and burning a torch at the head of the boat, desired my people to hail the vessel of the resident as soon as it should make its appearance. This occurred a little after midnight. Major Taylor caused his sail to be taken in, and on my approach advised my not venturing into his vessel, as he

"had the plague on board." Three persons were ill; one of whom, the Major's brother-in-law, subsequently died. Major Taylor informed me that the plague was raging with great fury at Bagdad; that all business was at a stand; that the whole country between Constantinople and Bagdad was in a state of convulsion owing to the misunderstanding between the Sultaun and Daoud Pasha; and that the desert between Bagdad and Aleppo was flooded by the river, and impassable for caravans. This completely satisfied me that it was vain to attempt prosecuting my journey by the route originally intended. I therefore, at the suggestion of Major Taylor, returned to Bussorah, in view to arrangements for another trip.

On our way back, circumstances occurred to give a very different and a very distressing aspect to the scenery of the Euphrates. The river, which does not ordinarily rise until the month of June, now rose with inconceivable rapidity, preceded by a violent storm, and in a few hours inundated the whole Irâk. Number-

less villages of matted huts were swept away; men, women, and children, were in a moment rendered houseless; numerous cattle and sheep were drowned; date trees torn up by the roots, and boats swamped or stranded. The artificial banks of the river, which had governed our progress upwards, were now overflowed, and it was with the greatest difficulty we could discover the river's bed and escape getting aground.

25th.—A fair wind carried us this morning to Kuzzeem, where we were detained, and informed that the motesellim of Bussorah had given orders for the arrest of all vessels coming from Bagdad, and for requiring of them an unlimited quarantine. It was in vain I protested we had only been part of the way to Bagdad; the armed vagabonds who boarded us insisted on our stay. I therefore demanded an interview with the old officer who had stopped us for "gomruck" on the 18th instant, and having refreshed his recollection of my person with a piastre, was permitted to proceed.

A little lower down we suffered a similar interruption from a boat-load of Arabs, but contrived with a loud tongue and a trifling present to remove it.

CHAPTER III.

Bussorah again—Change of scene—The "functionary" under a new aspect—Cases of Plague—The Pasha of Bagdad—His career—Political Views and Reflections —A few suggestions regarding the Steam Navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates.

On my arrival at Bussorah, I took up my quarters at the residency; and after a refreshing bath strolled through the town. But what a change had been effected in seven short days! Intelligence of the approach of the plague had spread consternation throughout the city, and had sent thousands of its inhabitants into retreat. The shops were closed—trade at a stand —the streets deserted—houses tenantless—the oft busy creek had scarcely a boat moving on

its surface—the mosques were filled with the dismayed Moslems, whom poverty or self-interest had kept in the town—the Christian churches held the few Armenians and Chaldeans whom fear had driven to pray with sincerity. Here might be seen a cluster of Zobeir Arabs, meditating rapine; and there a straggling Jew, ruminating on the losses he had sustained by the flight of the panic-stricken slaves of his usury.

Aga Pharseigh had lost all his confidence and self-sufficiency. He had sent off his family to Bushire; he was himself to sink into the humble office of clerk to the resident; and he was (which he esteemed the most distressing event of the three) to encounter face to face those who had just left the "city of the plague." I had told him of the circumstances under which I had met the resident, and that there were three cases of plague on board. The Armenian, whose only notions regarding *cases* were acquired in the course of his mercantile transactions, and who believed a plague case and a six dozen champagne case to be much about the same article, ejaculated, "Three *cases*

of plague! Merciful heavens!—if the major wanted to preserve such abominable virus, could he not have brought a smaller quantity? Three cases! If it *should* run out, how it might spread about the town!"

Major Taylor arrived at Bussorah soon after me, and took up his residence at his country house. I had the pleasure of being very often in his society, and learned from him many interesting particulars regarding the political condition of Bagdad, and the territory adjoining the Pachalic. At that moment, Daoud Pacha held the reins of government; and, as his long resistance to the Porte, combined with the importance he was daily acquiring as a successful innovator on the Turkish system of rule, placed him rather conspicuously before the public, it may not be out of place to give a short sketch of his career, combining therewith a view of the means by which the British government may acquire some degree of political strength in a quarter which may sooner or later become the scene of mighty operations.

Since the era of Suliman Pacha the Great,

and his able successor and former kehayeh, Ali Pacha, about half a century ago, no one had appeared at the head of the Pachalic with an abler mind, a more extended and absolute power than Daoud. The feeble individuals who successively attained to the Musnud, between the two former and the subject of this sketch, held their rank a short time, and with such acknowledged and public dependence on powers and resources foreign to themselves and beyond their controul, that it suffices to say, they attained to government and passed away without leaving a trace behind. About sixteen years ago, Daoud, then Duftadar Effendi, and allied by marriage to Saaud, the existing Pacha, fled from Bagdad into the contiguous rich district of Khâlis, situate between the Dialab and Tigris. He pretended fear of his life, but the real cause of his flight was ambition, and the musnud of his relative and benefactor the prize he proposed to attain. He had then passed the fortieth year of his life, and his long services, under preceding Pachas, had given him so thorough a knowledge of the views and powers of every

individual of importance in the country, and of the facilities which the distractions of the time afforded in enabling him to embody a party sufficiently strong to overawe every other, that he prepared at once to put into effect measures which he had secretly devised during a previous retirement from the cares and vexations of a court, under the unambitious mask of a professorship of civil law, in which character he affected for a time to enlighten a considerable body of students. Shortly after leaving the city, a firman from Constantinople, and the countenance of the late Mahomed Ali Meerza, Prince of Kermanshah, and Mahmoud Pacha of Sooleemaneah, secured by his active bribes and exclusive promises, placed the head and the musnud of Saaud in his power. He amused the prince and a useful portion of his Turkish and Koordish allies, sufficiently long to enable him to put to death and confiscate the property of a great many of the male members of the Pacha's family, and of the more powerful Turks, as suited his immediate wants. He then dismissed the Persian and Koordish auxiliaries,

and by temporary measures, occasional subsidies, and frequent resistance, and a steady exertion of every means of replenishing his treasury, he secured a temporary circle of Turkish adherents. By means of these he succeeded in fixing his authority, and then ridding himself of the most troublesome of these last attachés, retaining simply the most blind and devoted ministers. A character and course of measures like these, tended to produce a modification in the relations of the Koords, Persians, and Arabs towards him, and no doubt hastened the crisis which he had so long endeavoured to avoid. The Koordish chief of Sooleemaneah, Mahomed Pacha, disgusted with his perfidy, though as a Soonee strongly attached heretofore to Bagdad, now cultivated closer relations with the Persians, which the late Mahomed Ali Meerza, dexterously contrived to change into a tribute. Joined by his new allies, this prince, nine years ago, went almost to the walls of Bagdad, when his sudden decease by cholera put an end at once to the hopes of Persia and the fears of the Pacha. The Koords of Sooleemaneah, however, the most

powerful tribe of the warlike people and rich districts of Assyria, were kept in constant weakness and a vacillating dependence between the Turks and Persians, as Mahmood and Suleyman, the two sons of the late absolute Abderahman, Pacha of Kurdistan, successively attained to the government of their clans. Meanwhile the subsidy continued to be paid by the Koordish chief to Persia, in an enhanced amount, the country was impoverished and the beys discontented; the Pacha of Bagdad and Abbas Meerza were kept in constant suspicion and an attitude of constraint towards each other, as the aid and countenance of either might be temporarily requested by the declining fortunes of the actual incumbent. Daoud sent an envoy to Tabreez to endeavour to make some arrangement for the permanent return of the Koords to his authority; but I could not learn the issue of the negociation.

Nor was it to the north-eastern portion of the Pachalic alone that Daoud directed his attention. The great Arab tribes of Montefikh and Beni Lam, who abound in the south of he

Pachalic, had been secured to his interests through intrigues which had supplanted obnoxious sheikhs, by men more favourable to his views. To the western and north-western districts of the Pachalic he had likewise devoted some part of his exertions, but with less success; while in the very heart of his territory, he sought by every possible means to establish a useful military force. Three thousand men, armed as Europeans, and disciplined by English and French officers, constituted his guard: his arsenal was placed under the direction of an active and ingenious Italian, and European artificers were sought for in every direction. Measures were in progress to commence a navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates, by means of steam vessels; and grants of land and liberal rewards were offered to the enterprising individual who should assist in promoting territorial and commercial improvement.

In the midst of these vast undertakings a circumstance occurred, which ultimately deprived Daoud Pacha of his seat on the musnud, and had nearly cost him his head.

During the progress of the last war between Russia and Turkey, the Porte dispatched a capidgi, or chamberlain, to Bagdad, with a demand for six thousand eight hundred purses of piastres,* in aid of the Turkish views. Daoud, in whom avarice was a ruling passion, and who entertained a hatred towards the Porte sufficiently great to lead him to wish for Russian ascendancy in that quarter, declared he could muster but one thousand purses, which were accordingly sent. He subsequently forwarded one thousand more, but this did not satisfy the Sultaun, who dispatched a second capidgi, with firmans, requiring the payment of sixteen thousand purses, for it was notorious that Daoud had accumulated great wealth. Daoud got wind of this capidgi's approach, and in order that he might afterwards affect ignorance of the Sultaun's desires, he caused the capidgi to be murdered.

I am aware that in an interview with the British resident, Daoud gave rather a different account of the affair, and pretended that he

* A purse contains 500 piastres.

had expressed a willingness to do his best to meet the commands of the Grand Signor, but that the capidgi had behaved with great insolence, and had endeavoured to stir up a serious mutiny, which compelled Daoud to resort to —decapitation of the emissary. Be that as it may, the whole course of proceeding seriously inflamed the anger of the Porte, and large forces, from neighbouring Pachalics, were sent to reduce Daoud to obedience. He resisted, and held out for some months; but the combined influence of plague, internal revolt, and the sacred character of caliph, which Ali Pacha of Aleppo had been permitted to assume in conducting the campaign, turned the tide of affairs against Daoud, and he succumbed sometime during the past year. Through a judicious distribution of gold, however, Daoud contrived to save his head, and even his liberty, and is at present, I believe, residing somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus—possibly meditating future plans of advancement.

It is now worth considering in what degree British interests are affected by the change in

the government of the Pachalic, and how far it may sort with good policy to pursue the objects which were in progress of attainment up to the beginning of 1831.

I assume it to be pretty generally admitted, that Russia contemplates the power and the means of future quarrel and aggrandisement in the mode most convenient to herself, whether by Persia or by the medium of Turkey. If any doubt upon the subject existed, it would be removed upon a slight consideration of the clauses of the Persian treaty, indicative of the future position of the Russians at Abbassabad on the Araxes, conjoined with that stipulation of the Turkish treaty which secures to their consul a controul directly over Russian subjects, and indirectly over those of Turkey, immoderately independent, and imperious. The means of checking the advance of this "colossus," through the Northern and Eastern Persian provinces, have long formed a subject of deliberation, and it is hoped that the judicious arrangements of our Indian governments have left little present ground for alarm on that head. But nothing

has yet appeared to show that the designs planned by the triumphant Paskevitch at Erzeroum, for *communicating with India by the Tigris and Euphrates*, are to be met on our part by corresponding measures of defence, and it is, therefore, high time that the subject should be noticed. The utility of these noble streams as a channel of transport to the mouth of the Persian Gulph, will be evident to any one who contemplates for a moment their geographical position. But how much more apparent their value as a medium for the dispatch *from* India of the materials of *defensive* warfare! Yet would they little avail us in the event of an approach from the North, while we remain without a commanding position at Bagdad; and this can only be acquired by securing the residence there of an intelligent public officer, armed with considerable discretionary powers, and a tolerable suite and *treasury*. Major Taylor, during two short years, had made rapid advances towards the establishment of a military and political bulwark impregnable to Russia, and had extorted from the Pacha promises of very essential

concessions in the event of a satisfactory termination to the dispute with the Porte. Daoud, however, was a perfidious person, and it is questionable how far his continuance in power might have assisted the accomplishment of our views. His successor may be a man of more integrity, but I do not know whether any overtures have been made to him of the desired tendency. At any rate, no opportunity should be lost, of conciliating his friendship and securing his alliance. That point being attained, the next question regards the establishment of steam vessels on the Tigris and Euphrates, as a means of facilitating communication with India, and of thus conveying intelligence and military aid with celerity and effect. I am aware that mention has already been made in some of the public papers of an intention to carry this scheme into effect with a view to commercial advantages. But from inquiries instituted on the spot, I feel assured that its magnitude would completely annihilate the resources of much wealthier capitalists than those who could be found speculative enough to embark in the un-

dertaking. It could only be successfully entered upon by the British and Bagdad governments conjointly, though partial indemnification for the expense might afterwards be sought in admitting merchants to a participation (for a consideration) in the advantageous opportunity of safe transit.

In the first place, considerable pains must be bestowed upon the removal of the rocks which abound in the upper part of the Euphrates, and which at present offer serious obstructions to the prosecution of general navigation. Attention must then be paid to the conciliation of the various tribes inhabiting the banks of the rivers, and as their erratic propensities would be productive of a perpetual change of clans, it would be difficult to calculate the ultimate expense attending this indispensable step to security.

Next comes the building, equipment and management of the steamers, which must be of a totally different form from those navigating the rivers and channels of Europe,* and from that

* I understand a highly intelligent officer of the British artillery who has been engaged in surveying the Euphrates, has invented a boat adapted to the navigation of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.

circumstance impossible of construction any where but on the spot where they will be required. These are the chief obstacles which present themselves to the successful prosecution of the enterprise on the part of private individuals. A government may accomplish the undertaking at a much smaller cost, inasmuch as the arm of authority may successfully supersede the necessity for pecuniary bribes.

Jaba, and the neighbourhood of *Hit* on the Euphrates, abound in springs of bitumen, which, combined with oil, appears an excellent substitute for fuel, so that one ordinary impediment to the use of steam vessels in countries ill supplied with wood or coal, would be got rid of.

CHAPTER IV.

Bussorah beleaguered—Quit Bussorah for Shuster—The Karoon—Ahwaz — Weiss — An attack — Another retreat—Mahummarah — A Greek friend — A Doctor without a diploma—A third start.

It was now time to make a second attempt to reach Europe by land. Bussorah, at no time an agreeable place of residence, had become intolerable from the daily preparations of the Zobeirs* to possess themselves of the town, and sack the dwellings of the wealthy.

Their Sheikh pretended he had a commission from Constantinople to depose the ruling motesellim, and to supply his place with one more

* Arabs inhabiting a town eight miles distant from Bussorah.

acceptable to the Turks of Bussorah; but the truth of the matter was, that, finding the town defenceless owing to the plague-panic, and the inability of the Pachâ of Bagdad to afford any succour, the Zobeirs imagined they could revel in the luxury of plunder with impunity. They had begun their "demonstrations" before my departure, and the excitement this produced furnished my friend Aga Pharseigh with a fine field for the display of his cupidity. British "protection" was his stock in trade, and a thriving business he drove. He had contrived to enter into a compact with the Zobeirs, that, in the worst of their excesses, they should hold sacred the British residency and the property it contained, promising on his part (on behalf of his constituency, the Indian government) to abstain from the exertion of any influence in the Turk's behalf. Intelligence of this compact was communicated to numbers of the merchants remaining in the town, and they accordingly lost no time in seeking the advantages which it offered to them. The Aga was assailed from morning till night with solicitations to afford room

in the residency for divers bales, boxes, bags and baskets, and it is but justice to declare that in yielding his assent he did not evince a *very great contempt for* handsome douceurs. The consequence was, as I afterwards learnt, that the Zobeirs violated the treaty, and assailed the residency. Such a person as Aga Pharseigh is unworthy the confidence he enjoys. The Bombay government ought to afford the resident an English deputy; for as he is required to move up and down between Bagdad and Bussorah, and does not possess the faculty of omnipresence, it should be in his power to delegate the direction of affairs in his absence to some person of trust and discretion.

Having instituted inquiries as to the most agreeable and practicable route to Europe from the point where I now found myself, and learning that nothing more secure offered itself than a voyage up the Karoon to Shuster and thence to Shiraz, I determined at once to adopt it, the more readily that I should have an opportunity of visiting the ruins of Ahwaz, so famous in Mahomedan history. Accordingly a new en-

gagement was entered into with the nacquodah of the boat in which I had recently travelled, and renewing my Arabic costume, I left Bussorah on the 7th of May. We had not proceeded ten miles when our boat was arrested by the Zobeirs, who having possessed themselves of one of the motesellim's eight-gun brigs, fired two shots at us, and sent a party on board to levy gomruck. We steadily refused to pay anything, but as they manifested a disposition to proceed to violence, and we were numerically inferior and badly armed, I tried the effect of a declaration that I was an Englishman. This they at first disbelieved, and certainly my appearance justified their incredulity. On expressing my willingness, however, to surrender, threatening them with the speedy vengeance of the British resident, they lowered their tone, and desisting from further hostility, returned on board the brig.

Reaching Mahummarah, I delivered letters to the sheikh of the Chabeans, and was furnished with a guard, or rather a guide, who was to guarantee me against the attacks of the people

who inhabit the villages on the bank of the Karoon. A few miles beyond the village of Herat on the Hafar, all trace of the date grove was lost, and the river's banks presented merely a narrow range of tamarisk and other wild shrubbery. I walked on shore, while the trackers slowly drew the vessel up the stream, and crossed, during two hours' stroll, not less than five dry beds of ancient canals between Herat and Derissee, on the left bank of the river. Little else attracted my attention during the voyage. The shores one would imagine to be totally deserted, but for the occasional appearance of the antelope, the hare, the jackall, wolf, and lion; scarcely a bird, excepting a stray plover, pelican, or wild duck, disturbed the tranquillity of the scene.

On the 11th of May we reached Ahwaz, and I lost no time, with the aid of a Cutch carpenter located here, who spoke Hindostanee remarkably well, in exploring the ruins of this once famous capital of Khuzistân. I have compared my memoranda made on the spot, and the data supplied me from the Arabic authors, with the

sketch of Ahwaz, appended to Captain Mignan's volume of Travels in Chaldea, and I must render to that officer the tribute of respect to which his accuracy and research entitle him. I believe I penetrated much farther eastward than Captain Mignan ventured to do, purposing to ascertain the termination of these ruins; but after a journey of thirty miles and upwards, I gave up the pursuit. It is worth mentioning, however, as in some degree confirmatory of the descriptions of Ahwaz by the Arabic authors, that on a subsequent visit to Bunder Mashoor (distant seventy miles S. E. of Ahwaz,) I found some considerable ruins of precisely the same character as those at Ahwaz, and abounding with pottery, flint glass, and Cufic gems.

May 13th.—After the assr, or afternoon prayer, we prepared to leave Ahwaz. The sheikh came on board with a number of attendants, and paid me a visit. With him came my guide from Mahummarah, who now announced his intention of quitting, and to whom I gave a letter of approbation, and a small present. He rejected the latter with disdain, and

the whole party took their leave. Soon afterwards it occurred to the nacquodah of the boat, that as we had made no adequate present either to the sheikh or the guide, we should probably be intercepted through their means as soon as we reached the next station. I accordingly sent the nacquodah and my servant with a *carte blanche* to offer what was reasonable, and at the same time likely to secure us from future interruption. This produced a second visit from the *conducteur*, who, on being assured I was without pecuniary means, accepted, but with evident dissatisfaction, an order on the Armenian agent at Bussorah. No other guide supplying this person's place, we left Ahwaz with many misgivings and apprehensions for the future. Nor were our fears unfounded. The next evening we reached the village of Weiss, but had scarcely made fast our boat, when the sheikh and about twenty followers came on board, while others lined the shore, and made an instant demand for one hundred piastres, in default of which they threatened to cut the Ingrézé's (Englishman's) throat, seize

every other individual, plunder the cargo, and scuttle the boat. Remonstrances, threats, persuasions, promises—all were vain; the sheikh himself cut away our sail from the yard which lay fore and aft the boat, and a dozen swords were unsheathed to carry their murderous intentions into execution. In this dilemma, an individual of a sinister aspect, but with a remarkably smooth voice and insinuating manner, who had escorted another boat from Mahummarah, undertook to negociate for me with the turbulent sheikh, and to save my throat for a small consideration. The sheikh consented to a parley, and as soon as it was concluded left with his party, the negociator remaining with me. The object of this agent was soon apparent. He was anxious to secure a decent prize for himself, and then leave me and my people at the mercy of the Weissites. After staying with me an hour he went away, but immediately returned with the sheikh and followers, and encouraged them to violence. Our incompetency to cope with these people now obliged me to resort to stratagem. I went into my cabin, brought

out my pistols and a bag of piastres, threw the latter on the deck, and declared that as they had now robbed me of all I possessed, I held life of no account, and should, on the first hostile movement, shoot the sheikh and the negociator. This produced a calm; they picked up the bag, and murmuring, walked away; not, however, without robbing my servants and the nacquodah of their turbans, beds, and chibouks. On their departure I desired the trackers to go to work, that we might get out of this den of thieves, and proceed at once to Shuster. But the nacquodah advised a different course:—he had been on shore, had learnt that their intention was to surprise and attack us near Bundi Keel, and suggested that our escape from a second rencontre was impossible. Nothing then remained to be done but to return to Bussorah, and seek reparation for the injury sustained. Accordingly, favoured by the darkness of night, we loosened the picquet and suffered our boat to float silently down the stream, and should probably have escaped scot-free but that the force of the current drove us against the bank, a

short distance below the village, and aroused some of the inhabitants. In a moment the alarm was spread, and cries of "El Frangi! El Frangi!" echoed along the banks. Fear lent us strength; we again got into the middle of the stream, and were instantly assailed by shots from pursuers. Lying down in the boat, we kept our eyes upon the edge of the bank, which was here about fifteen feet from the surface of the water, and only returned the fire when the shadows of men between ourselves and the sky enabled us to do so with effect. The pursuit was kept up for about two hours, without doing more harm than wounding one mallah, and perforating a few of our spars.

It was very evident that the people of Weiss had communicated our retreat to the sheikh of Ahwaz during the night, for when we approached the latter town at morning's dawn we found a party assembled on the shore to watch our arrival. We therefore kept tracking on the opposite bank, and were deaf to all their invitations to cross over until we had proceeded several miles below the river, when, seeing the

old sheikh of Ahwaz come "pricking o'er the heath," alone and unarmed, we consented to approach and parley with him. He earnestly entreated me to pursue my journey to Shuster, and offered to accompany me and guarantee my safety; he said he was shocked at the conduct of *his brother*, the sheikh of Weiss, and was quite sure that the sheikh of Mahummarah would send for both his and his brother's head, when I told the story of my disasters. As I had no great faith in this man's assurances, and believed he was strongly inclined to help me out of the world on the principle that "dead men tell no tales," I disregarded his entreaties, and pursued my voyage.

May 16th.—Reached the palace of Sheikh Samur, opposite Mahummarah, and found, from a good-natured Greek residing there, that I could proceed no further. Bussorah, in the short interval of my absence, had fallen to the Zobeirs; the Turkish governor, or motesellim, had retreated with his suite to Mahummarah, where the sheikh had not only afforded him protection, but had, for a pecuniary considera-

tion, sent a large body of Chabeans to drive the Zobeirs from their position. The contending parties now occupied the Shut-ul-Arab, and thus rendered all communication with Bussorah quite impracticable. In fact I distinctly heard the cannonading for the greater part of the day.

My situation was now extremely critical and distressing. I had been twice obstructed in my journey; my means were frittering away, and the different roads to Europe known to English travellers were closed against me. In this dilemma I consulted my Greek acquaintance. Nicolas, or Saheb Khan Nicolas, (for so he styled himself, by virtue of a firman from Futteh Ali Shah,) was a native of Corfu, acknowledging an English sire and a Greek mother. He had passed his earliest youth in *nautical pursuits*, in the Archipelago; subsequently got a commission in a Sicilian regiment, when Lord William Bentinck was in Sicily; had visited England as a dealer in Grecian antiquities, (a Lord Elgin on a small scale;) then entered the Persian army, as an officer acquainted with European tactics, and finished

by joining the Bactiarian mountaineers and becoming a leader of hordes. For good services rendered the Prince of Oologerte Berugia, Nicolas was named governor of Shuster; but political convulsions had unseated my friend, and he was obliged to seek the countenance of the sheikh of the Chabeans. This man, compassionating my situation, and delighting in serving a native of a country which held, as he expressed it, so many "dashing girls,"* advised me to seize the opportunity which the campaign against the Zobeirs offered for the useful exercise of *my medical acquirements*, and to place my services at the disposal of Sheikh Samur. The experiment appeared a bold one to a man utterly unacquainted with the mysteries of surgery, but it seemed to offer the only means of acquiring the sheikh's assistance in getting through the Chab territory into Persia. I accordingly waited on the sheikh; enumerated

* Nicolas had lived during his stay in England in the Commercial Road, and was well acquainted with the purlieus of Whitechapel and Ratcliffe Highway, and their fair inhabitants.

my powers as a hakeem; exhibited my medicine chest, (which had been well filled at Bussorah,) and explained the virtues of calomel, laudanum, rhubarb, and other medicaments. The sheikh ordered me to be well entertained, gave me a tolerably decent asylum near his palace, and twice visited me.

It is needless to tire the reader with a detail of the vile experiments I made on the bodies of the wounded Chabeans; how many balls I extracted, how many wounds patched or plaistered, and how many stomachs I filled with nauseous nostrums. Suffice it to say, I endeavoured to avoid the destruction of human life, even if I did not succeed in affording its miseries relief. The sheikh was well pleased with my zeal, and more so with a box of ointment which I laid at his feet as a certain remedy for the *impaired vision* of his left eye. He had been stone blind from his childhood, but he held it disrespectful to be told so.

I passed seven days in quackery, and then waited on the sheikh at one of his afternoon levies, and acquainted him with my wish to

proceed to Bebuhan through the Chab territory. He promised me safe escort to *Fellahi*, the head quarters of the Chabeans; and a letter of introduction to his brother, Mobader Khan, the Prince of Chab. The following morning I prepared to depart; and, as soon as the ceremony of a mutton breakfast (for it was the feast of the Bairam) had been despatched, embarked in a small boat, with a guide, the promised letter, arms, a carpet, and a small bag of clothes.

Our course, for some hours, lay up the Karoon, until we reached the mouth of the Jerahi, the ancient Pasitigris, when we took an easterly direction, through a vast extent of morass inhabited by wild fowl, and swarming with musquitoes, whose incessant attack occasioned incredible torment. About midnight we picqueted the boat to some stout shrubbery on the left bank, and tried to repose. Early the next morning our course was renewed, and we reached the sheikh's palace at the eastern extremity of the town at about mid-day.

CHAPTER V.

The Chabean territory—The Sheikh of Fellahi—The Author's reception at the Chabean court—Sketch of the country, its resources, the people, &c.—Journey to Bebuhan.

FELLAHI, or, as Sir John Macdonald Kinneir calls it, *Dorak*,* is a town of very considerable extent, inasmuch as the houses are scattered over a large space of ground, and shadowed by luxurious groves of date and pomegranate trees.

* It is rather singular that this intelligent officer, while admitting, in his able Geographical Memoir of Persia, that this place is *more properly called Fellahi*, should always designate it in his map and corresponding work by the term *Dorak*.

The form of the houses is different to any I had ever seen, in the villages on the banks of the Euphrates, or the shores of the Persian Gulph. They resemble English cottages, having a sloping roof of compact thatching, but in other respects they partake of the unsubstantial character of the Arab dwelling, the walls consisting merely of thick layers of long reeds, whose summits are interwoven with the thatching. The town occupies both banks of the Jerahé for some miles, and it is reputed to be generally healthy. There is within the town a citadel (the ancient limits of the town) protected by a high and thick wall, of about a mile and a half in circumference. Within this citadel, on the left bank of the river, is the Kooté, or palace of the sheikh, which may once have been a handsome and strong building, but is at present in a state of partial decay. There is a spacious meidan, or public square, in the centre of the palace, one side of which is occupied by the sheikh's park of artillery, consisting of about eight pieces of brass ordnance (long nine-pounders) and two iron howitzers, all orna-

mented with the arms of Portugal, in alto-relievo. I understand they have tenanted this meidan for upwards of a century. They are, nevertheless, in a very serviceable condition.

Having sent the guide, with the letter of introduction, to the sheikh, I was soon invited by the latter on shore, and a guard sent to conduct me. I found the sheikh seated on a *nummud* in his *dewan khaneh*, or public hall of audience, with a handsome grave old man on his left, and a number of well-dressed followers, resting on their lances and muskets, in front, awaiting his commands. It was a complete realization of Byron's picture of an Eastern chief and his band:

> "A thousand warriors by his word were kept
> In awe; he said, as the centurion saith,
> 'Go' and he goeth—'come' and forth he stepped."

Waving all ceremony, the sheikh arose on my entrance, and welcomed me to *Fellahi*. His brother, he said, had apprized him of the great services rendered by his friend, "the Hakeem," and he was happy that it was in his

power to give some proof of his gratitude. "But," said he, "why wear that turban, that beard, and that *abbah?** you do not look like a Frangi." I answered, that was precisely my reason for wearing them; —I might pass unobserved. "If that, then," said he, "be your only fear, instantly cast them aside. I will show you that it is possible to travel through Mobader Khan's dominions in any garb he pleases. Go," continued he, "change your costume, refresh yourself with food and sleep, and come to me again after the *assr.*"† He then ordered me to be supplied with a sheep, plenty of rice, fruit, fowls, coffee and milk, sent servants to wait on me, and appropriated a house to my use.

At the appointed hour I renewed my visit attired in black. The sheikh was holding a kind of levee in a spacious veranda in front of his harem, looking out on the palace court, above which it was raised for about three feet. Three

* A large woollen cloak, worn throughout Arabia, Turkey, and parts of Persia.

† The afternoon prayer.

or four beautiful hawks were perched near the sheikh, and he was patting a couple of favourite greyhounds. Below, in the court, stood a considerable guard, and about the sheikh's person were a number of subordinate sheikhs who had come to report the measures they had taken for reinforcing the troops at Mahummarah, or to await instructions from their superior. These chieftains were received with a ceremony proportioned to their rank and consequence, and a cordiality bearing reference to their zeal, courage, or interest in Mobader Khan's bosom. Those of the highest rank merely bowed and took their places, others advanced and kissed the sheikh's hand, while the humblest officers knelt on one knee to perform the same ceremony. I observed, however, that great respect was always paid to age in this little court, for when the head of a village, far advanced in years, limped up to the *nummud*, the sheikh rose and embraced him, though he held but a trifling post, and was a man of little personal merit.

My own reception was most flattering. "Ah,

ha! khoob! khoob! shahbas!" (good, good, admirable!) exclaimed Mobader Khan, in Persian—"you are now yourself. It is long since I looked upon an Englishman, but I do not forget that they are a great nation." He then discoursed with me about my plans for the future prosecution of my journey, and gave me some instructions for going through the Chab territory. Talking of hunting, and more especially of falconry, he told me that his deserts abounded with game, and that if I would stay with him, I should see herds of antelopes fall to his noble hawks. He was curious about our field sports, but showed very little interest in more important matters; because, said he, "I am already well informed in all that concerns Europeans, and their empires."

Day drawing to a close, I expressed to the sheikh my wish to depart, at the same time making an offer of my services in the medical way to himself and followers. He instantly commanded a boat to be prepared for me, to take me to the nearest village, well supplied with horses, and appointed a fine young fellow

as my escort, desiring him not only to protect me from insult, but to see that *all* my wants were supplied throughout the march to Bebuhan *free of cost.* He then requested me to examine the eyes of his vizier, which were weak and diseased. I inspected them, and as they were evidently affected, (though of course I knew not in what manner, nor how to apply a successful remedy,) I made him a present of a pair of green spectacles. Late in the evening I paid my respects to my liberal host, and departed.

Mobader Khan, prince of Chab, is the most powerful chieftain to the south-west of Persia. His revenues, arising from the exportation of the date, the manufacture of the *abbah*, and the customs levied on Indian imports, may amount to about sixty thousand tomauns* annually.

* It is difficult to fix the value of the tomaun. Its *exchangeable* value fluctuates continually: for in some of our commercial treatises it is valued at one pound five shillings, while I could only get twelve shillings in Persia, nor did I pay more in buying them. Sir J. Malcolm, in his history, estimates the tomaun at one guinea, yet a London dealer in coins offered me only eight shillings for one.

He is held in great veneration by all the tribes, who fly to Fellahi at his summons, bringing their own *matériel* of war. In this way he can command the services of six or seven thousand cavalry, and about fifteen thousand infantry, independently of the wandering Illyauts, who inhabit the deserts of Chab.

In person, Mobader Khan is of the middle stature, of a pleasing countenance, and graceful demeanour. He is reputed to possess much kindness of heart, and, at the same time, the courage of a lion. He is liberal, tolerant, and anxious for improvement, with which view he encourages the resort to his territories of artizans and Europeans. There were two Russians at Fellahi during my visit, but the poor fellows had turned Mahomedans, and seemed to lead but a miserable life, between the patronage of the sheikh and the dislike of his followers. The language of the Chabeans is, to the west, Arabic; but the traveller will find, as he advances eastward, that it gradually amalgamates with Persian. It is therefore, for the most part, a wretched jargon; and as they have

no modern literature, there is little chance of its purification. The costume of the Chabeans is like their language—a mixture. They wear the Persian *kabah*, or green tunic, loose trowsers and slippers, the *cummr*, or girdle, and a *lilac* cloth turban of the same form as the Arab's. The sheikhs wear crimson and gold brocade dresses on extraordinary occasions, but for ordinary use content themselves with crimson chintz, variegated with yellow flowers in imitation of gold.* They generally declined all presents at my hands, for fear of offending their potent master; yet would they, at almost every town, slily hint that a *khilaut** or fire-arms would be acceptable.

My route through the territory lay first down a canal, or branch of the Jerahé, which runs southerly into the Persian gulph. Disembarking at the village of *Gadee*, I proceeded easterly in the manner laid down in the map appended to this volume. The route I found had never been travelled by more than one Englishman, who has communicated but little information regarding the Chab territory. The patient

* See frontispiece. * Dress of honour.

reader must therefore permit me to offer a few extracts from my journal, as they will probably convey a more faithful transcript of my thoughts and observations, than a more condensed narrative would offer.

May 24th.—Left Fellahi late in the evening, and, after passing through a series of date-groves, tracked along low banks bordering a heath, where the river widened a little. We continued our route for two hours, when we were stopped by an embankment, or *bund*, of dry reeds, and stakes driven into the river's bottom, abreast of the village of *Kareena*. Here our guide jumped on shore, and went into the village to procure persons to lift the boat over the impediment. Fifteen men immediately made their appearance, bearing with them fruit and milk for the refreshment of myself and crew during the operation. This being performed, we continued the trip until we reached the village of *Sufferah*, where we ceased labour and lay to for the night.

May 25th.—Again started, and made a four hours voyage to *Gareba*, a small village of reed

huts and a few mud houses, where our guide caused the principal inhabitants to prepare a breakfast of warm cakes, excellent fresh butter, milk, and hard-boiled eggs. During the trip, we met two or three boats filled with armed men proceeding to join the forces congregated at Mahummarah. Several armed horsemen also passed us on the banks, to whom we invariably addressed the salutation "*Salaam alicum!*" After breakfast we continued our route, and at eleven A. M. reached the village of *Gadee*, where I procured horses; not, however, without some difficulty, as all my money was in Persian coins, and the inhabitants refused any but the Turkish piastre. Nor was this my only difficulty. The people at first objected to let me enter an empty stable for the day, and even to furnish me with any provisions, murmuring that a Christian dog should be brought into their *manzil*.* By dint, however, of threats, abuse, and blows, the guide overcame all prejudices, and offered himself as security for the hire of the horses and six tofungees,

* Town or village.

(musketeers), which being accepted, I commenced the land portion of my journey. Our party consisted of my guide, self, two servants, the owner of the horses, and a person to assist him in bringing them back. We were all well mounted and armed, and were moreover escorted by six musketeers on foot. Our journey lay directly east across a level plain, which, as far as a clear moonlight would permit me to judge, yielded neither tree, bush, nor herbage. The hills of Zeitoon, being the first range of the mountains of Buctiari, lay on our left, and appeared to take a south-easterly direction farther than the eye could reach. We arrived within four miles of the town of Bunder Mashoor, or Mashoor, (which is contiguous to the sea,) at about three in the morning, and slept until daylight surrounded by our horses, which were picqueted to some poor shrubbery resembling stunted thistles. On remounting, I imagined we were not half-a-mile from Mashoor, so close did it appear; but I found afterwards that this was merely an optical illusion common in these level deserts, and equally distressing

to the way-worn traveller with the insidious mirage.

Mashoor is a walled town about a mile in circumference. It is said to contain about a thousand inhabitants, who are for the most part engaged in trade. Their condition is far from miserable; for their houses, though small, are well furnished with the luxuries of European *ménage*, and their clothing is of a costly character. There is no water here, excepting that supplied from a few wells immediately without the town walls, and which is brackish and unwholesome. A short distance from the town lie some considerable ruins, which I visited; and which, as already observed, I have very little doubt are a continuation of the ruins of Ahwaz. The bearings, and identity of materials, are strongly confirmatory of the supposition.

Sheikh Ally Khan, a venerable personage, assisted by his wife, his son, his daughter, and his son's wife, made great exertions to do honour to their English guest, and deserve well of their chief. I was quartered in a small

store-room of the *kooté*, fifteen feet by eight in which were two cylindrical mud jars about seven feet in height, filled with flour. The heat was intolerable; but as the sheikh's youngest daughter, a girl of thirteen, fanned me, I contrived to get a little repose.

The Chabean women enjoy a much greater degree of liberty than either the Persians or Turks. They do not veil even in the public streets, nor scruple to hold any communion with the other sex which modesty and fidelity permit. Their costume is, I think, rather picturesque. I have endeavoured to convey an idea of it in the sketch forming the frontispiece of the second volume.

My stay at Mashoor lasted two days and a night. I then took leave of my old guide, and being escorted by the son of the old sheikh, and a party of armed Chabeans, proceeded to *Dere Mullah*.

Dere Mullah is a considerable town on the left bank of the *Tab*, or Endian river, eight pharsaghs from Bunder Mashoor. It is surrounded on three sides by a wall of mud and

stone, the river occupying the fourth. Above the postern, or principal entrance, is a high circular tower, armed with loop-holes for the defence of the town against assaults. Indeed this tower forms a characteristic feature of every town and village throughout the Chab territory, and helps the traveller to his destination across the wastes, which yield no trace of pathway.

I stayed two days at *Dzre Mullah*, during which time I rode with Sheikh Ahmed, the governor, a remarkably handsome and well disposed young man, to visit an encampment of Illyauts, headed by a descendant of the famous *Meer Mohunnah Mumlikhet.** An Arabian camp has been so often and so well described, that it is not worth while torturing the reader with any new sketches. There were the usual proportion of camels, cattle, sheep, and horses; the tents were black, and the inhabitants in number four thousand. I was received with much apparent cordiality by the Meer in a long tent well carpeted, and filled with cheerful, well-

* See Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia.

dressed Chabeans. The cause of my visit was his indisposition; and my medical acquirements were therefore called into action as soon as pipes and coffee had been served; but the Meer was at first somewhat distrustful of the remedies offered, and wished me to become his *taster*, and give assurance of the safety of the potion by dosing myself. Like another Sangrado, I could have been well pleased to have tried the effect of my skill on a second Gil Blas, but here there was no simple agent at hand, and therefore the confidence of my patients could only be acquired by an exertion of complaisance. I swallowed a draught of julep and calomel, and the Meer then became tractable.

In the cool of the evening Sheikh Ahmed and I took our leave accompanied by a small party of Chabeans. The ride was of the most interesting and exciting description. The sheikh and the escort were mounted on the noblest chargers I ever beheld in my life, and capered and curvetted the whole way, now charging each other with the jereed, now riding at

me with sword and pistol as if in the act of assaulting, but reining in their steeds when within a yard of my horse's head. They were all lively cheerful men, and were pleased with the novelty of having a Frangi, dressed in his national costume, a guest in their tents. They seemed passionately fond of their horses, many of whom (the mares) were followed by colts and foals thrown within the previous two years. The neighing and frolics of these scions added considerably to the mirth of the scene.

The Chab country is famous for its breed of horses. I have seen in India many fine specimens of the Nedjd breed, but I do not think they are either as large or as powerful as the Khuzistan horse. By far the greater number are grey, and like the Turcoman horse capable of sustaining great fatigue. The breeders do not appear anxious about their exportation, in view to commercial profit; for when I told one of the escort that I was sure he would get two thousand rupees at least for his charger, he answered "I would not sell him for ten thousand."

May 30.—I left *Dere Mullah* this morn-

ing accompanied by the sheikh, his vizier, and a small body of *tofungees* to proceed to *Zeitoon*. It was deemed necessary to have the guard, and to take rather a circuitous route, because at this juncture the Chabeans were at issue with the Begler-Beg or Prince of Bebuhan, and would run the risk of a skirmish if they encountered any of his troops. *Zeitoon* lies to the east of *Dere Mullah*. The country from *Gadee* to the Illyaut encampment near the latter town, appeared to be of a very sterile description, but it now gradually assumed a more luxuriant character. Two miles south-east of the town we entered upon extensive wheat fields diversified by rich grass and high shrubbery. Abundance of partridges and plovers ran or flew immediately before us scarcely conscious of fear. We crossed the *Tab* about seven miles from *Dere Mullah*, but the river was here so shallow that it did not reach the mules' bellies. Large flights of locusts now preceded our advance, and wild herbs in great abundance shed a grateful perfume around.

It would be superfluous to give the details of the journey to the various towns or hamlets of *Wooly*, *Bagdadee*, *Charkhanarood*, and *Chom*, since they offered but little of variety. There was no difference in the main features of the three first, and the only circumstance in the latter which indicated that we had reached a new territory was the alteration of costume. The kolah made of camel-felt, here entirely superseded the lilac cloth turban, and the people of *Chom* acknowledged no fealty to the Chab sheikh. I have noted with as much fidelity as my means of observation would permit, the relative situations of these places, and may mention that the soil is rich and covered with shrubbery and herbage between *Wooly* and *Chom*, but is remarkably mountainous, barren, and rocky between *Chom* and *Bebuhan*. In fact the road from one town to the other lay for nearly the whole distance over a range of rugged hills which have hitherto been considered by geographers to form a range of the mountains of Buctiari. They are intersected however by so large a plain that

there is no excuse for confounding them; the more especially as the best informed natives invariably call them the *Parrh-Zeitoon* or hills of Zeitoon, to distinguish them from the hills of *Deidass* which run south east and north-west of Bebuhan, and which are also distinct from the chain properly termed Buctiari.

Zeitoon, which Colonel Macdonald has designated in his map as a particular town, is likewise the name given to the whole eastern branch of the Chab territories, and is studded with small villages, and abounds with springs of delicious water.

CHAPTER VI.

Bebuhan—A conscientious Vizier—Persian Females—New mode of taking coffee—Awful alternative—Commence journey over the mountains of Buctiari.

I REACHED *Bebuhan* on the 3rd of June, and took up my quarters in the principal caravanserai; where, in a few minutes, I was assailed bythe blind, the lame, and the halt, the curious and the covetous. Among the latter were several mountebanks, bear and monkey leaders, dervises, and cafila or caravan drivers.

The geographical position and dimensions of Bebuhan have been accurately laid down by the author of the Geographical Memoir,* but he

* Page 72 of the 4to. edition. The reader must pardon the frequent allusion made to Macdonald Kin-

has entered into no further particulars regarding the town. The interior is rather picturesque, more resembling a European village than a Persian town. Each house stands alone, and many have small gardens attached. There is a small bazaar at the north end, but it is not vaulted as in the larger cities, the roof consisting merely of branches of trees. There are only two khans or caravanserais within the town, which are remarkably small and dirty buildings, but they are well supplied with water, both river and rain; the former being brought close to the gate of Bebuhan by one of those contrivances for raising water which have long excited the surprise and commendation of travellers, and have established the Persian character for a correct and extensive knowledge of hydraulics. The palace of Najur-Vauly-Meerza, the prince or Begler Beg of Bebuhan,

neir. He is the only person who has visited the south of Khuzistan, (at least the only one who has written anything about it,) excepting the author and Capt. Mignan, and as the latter has only spoken of Ahwaz, the author is anxious to compare notes with Kinneir, and to supply what is wanting in his work.

is a respectable edifice, and tolerably well fortified. The prince himself, who is the eldest son of the prince of Shirauz, and grandson of the king of Persia, is a very young man, lives in seclusion, and takes but little interest in public matters.

> "He goes to mosque in state, and says his prayers
> With more than 'oriental scrupulosity.'
> He leaves to his vizier all state affairs,
> And shows but little royal curiosity."
>
> *Don Juan.*

The burial-ground of Bebuhan, which, unlike the custom elsewhere, stands within the walls, is remarkable for the neatness, uniformity, and durability of the grave-stones, which are covered with a white plaister of amazing consistency. I was assured that the plaister never loses its colour, and consequently baffles all endeavours to ascertain how long the inhabitant of the tomb has reposed in his last abode, for there are no inscriptions here. In Turkey, and likewise in those parts of Persia where the plague frequently prevails, the extent of its

diurnal ravages is only to be ascertained by referring to the *freshness* of each tomb-stone.

The population of Bebuhan does not exceed six or seven thousand souls, two thousand of whom are military. There is apparently rather a large aristocracy—that is, a considerable body of khans; but they seem to be kept in a tolerable state of subordination by the vizier, Aga Mahomed, an active, intelligent, gentlemanly, and unassuming man.

To this latter personage I addressed myself on my arrival, desiring his counsel as to my future route, for I found it quite impossible to decide amidst the conflicting opinions which I was compelled to listen to at the caravanserai. The road to Shirauz was impassable for hordes of banditti—the mountains of Buctiari were worse—Bushire was not very remote, and the road was open; but at the gates of Bushire I should be required to serve forty days quarantine. It was absurd to think of going back, and I had no temptation to stay—what was to be done?

Aga Mahomed listened with a great deal of

attention, but "answer made he none," until I laid before his ministerial eyes a brace of pistols and a penknife with eight blades. It is astonishing how this quickened his decision. He admired the gift; declared that all who had hitherto made proposals to me were scoundrels; and that he should make it his particular business to provide me with safe and immediate conduct to Isfahan. In the mean time, he removed me from the caravanserai to the bhaug or garden of an old nobleman, Meer Goolam Hussein, where, had I not been beset by numberless invalids, while I was suffering materially myself from an obstinate fever, I might have passed a few agreeable hours. The garden was extensive, and realized some of the best *prosaical* descriptions of the gardens of Persia. Poets deceive. There were two or three long, but narrow walks, kept in excellent order, and one broad *allée* through the centre. These were bordered with large and luxurious orange, lime, fig, and other fruit trees, interspersed with numerous plantations of mint, tobacco, melons, and lettuces; the whole irrigated by

canals fed from the Jerahi, which runs near the town. There was likewise a considerable number of vine bushes scattered about, which contributed to give a fresh and verdant aspect to the whole garden.

Amongst the visitors whose presence was *not decidedly offensive*, I should instance the two wives, three daughters, and a niece of Meer Goolam's, together with some of the female friends of these ladies. Few travellers in Persia have had the good fortune to see the better order of Persian ladies unveiled. An invasion of the sanctity of the harem would be attended with serious results; and in the streets there is an impenetrable barrier of horse-hair or cotton netting* which it would be an offence to gallantry, not to say a violation of established order, to break down. Doctors, it is true, have occasionally been admitted to the presence of the terrestrial houris; but so rare are even these indulgences, that one European hakeem describes himself† as having felt "too happy"

* The materials of which the ladies veils are composed.

† See "A Visit to the Harem," published some years since in Blackwood's Magazine.

in being allowed a sight of a female tongue through a hole in a green curtain; and another speaks rapturously of the touch of a wrist thrust through a similar aperture. What produced so material a relaxation of severe custom in my favour I cannot imagine, unless it were that the people of Bebuhan are more simple in their manners than the polished and bigoted inhabitants of Shirauz and Isfahan; or that the rarity of an English physician's visit justified a departure from the rigid laws of prudery and suggestions of jealousy. Suffice it to say, that from the moment my guests entered the summer-house where I was accustomed to reside, and where the gardeners kept their tools, veils were cast aside, bright glances were exchanged, and hands extended—to be pressed, gentle reader?—no; but that the pulses might be felt. Saving a little agitation, arising from the novelty of the affair, the ladies did not seem, to my apprehension, to labour under any material indisposition; but I was nevertheless obliged to amuse their fancies with a few innocent compositions from my medical repository, in return

for which they sent me fruits, flowers, and delicate sherbets.

I shall probably be expected, after the enjoyment of such singular advantages, to furnish a glowing description of the charms of the Bebuhan fair. I am sorry that the material for such an undertaking is not very ample. The ladies of Bebuhan have little wherewith to captivate the vitiated taste of an European, if we except jet black eyes lacking expression, raven locks innocent of the unhallowed touch of a small-tooth comb, taper hands, and delicate ancles.

I was honoured with a few visits of ceremony from mine host and his aristocratic acquaintance, who seemed much diverted with the difference between their customs and dress, and those which they observed in me. The Khans and Meerzas of Bebuhan are considerable consumers of coffee, but not after the fashion of Turks, Arabs, or Europeans. It is with them a kind of *bon-bon* eaten in a powdered and roasted state, without having had any connexion with hot water. When Meer Goolam Hussein called on me, he was always accompanied by his coffee-

bearer, who carried about the fragrant berry in a *snuff-box*, and handed it frequently to the company present. The first time it was brought to me, deceived by its colour and quality, and strengthened in the delusion by its singular repository, I took a *pinch* of the coffee and applied it to my nose, amidst the roars of laughter and looks of surprise of all the party.

After the lapse of a few days the vizier sent for me, and informed me that he had duly considered my situation, and was finally of opinion that nothing remained for me but to attempt the passage of the Buctiarian mountains. I must frankly confess that my blood ran cold at this intimation. No Englishman had yet ventured to cross these formidable heights, for they were the haunts of relentless blood-thirsty brigands, who held it meritorious to destroy a Christian, and had proved their faith in this doctrine by the murder of numerous Armenian travellers. But I had no alternative. Every other road was impassable to me, and ambition whispered that some éclat and much public utility would attend the accomplishment of a

scheme which no one had hitherto dared to attempt. Besides the shazadah had promised me a guide, and *rackums*, or passports, which the mountaineers were bound to respect; nay more, these very brigands were commanded to give me safe escort from one encampment to another. Thus fortified, my resolution was soon taken. I hired two or three sumpter-mules for my servant and baggage, and a horse for myself. My medicine chest—my best friend—was tolerably well supplied, my sword was well tempered, and my pistols true.

On the evening of the 10th of June, I had my "audience of leave" of the prince of Bebuhan, and paid a visit to the vizier, and the next morning at day-break commenced my journey—not however without dire misgivings as to its *termination*.

The *topgee-badshi** of the shazadah, an honest, friendly Turk, with mustachios a foot long, called out to me as I passed through the gate, "Inshallah! (please God!) you will reach

* Commandant of artillery.

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Isfahan in safety; but trust no one—not even your guards and guides;" and certainly the physiognomy of the guide who now presented himself at my side, gave anything but comfortable assurance of a safe transit.

An hour after dawn we commenced the ascent of the first range, or hills of *Deidass*, and were at once introduced to romantic and delicious scenery. For a considerable distance we wound along the side of a rocky cliff, whose summit frowned over our heads, while the pale blue waters of the *Jerahi* pursued a gentle course through a ravine immediately below on our right. About two pharsaghs from Bebuhan we stopped opposite a huge crevice in the rock, from which issued the waters of a spring falling into a huge stone trough, erected for the benefit of travellers and their cattle by the present Begler Beg. Above the trough is a stone slab resting against, or rather built in, the wall, informing the passenger, in the usual hyperbolical strain of the Persian, to whom he is indebted for the accommodation thus afforded.

At about mid-day we halted at a small fort

called *Tung'h takoh*, at the summit of a lofty hill, containing about half a dozen inhabitants, but capable of holding a considerable force. This is one of the strong holds of the Prince of Bebuhan. When the Buctiarians violate their treaties of alliance with the prince, (by no means an unusual thing,) and become the assailants of that which at times they are employed to protect, this position is occupied by the troops of the Begler Beg, and proves a formidable obstacle to the incursions of the hordes. It commands almost the only pass in a tolerably direct road to the valley of Bebuhan.

One of the occupants of the fortress had died the evening previous to our arrival, and the survivors were now engaged in certain funereal ceremonies. My admission, at least, was therefore interdicted; but I was shown a garden containing some date trees, few and far between, where I was told I *might* shelter myself for the day. *How* that was to be achieved was not signified; for as the shadow of each tree did not occupy a space of more than a foot's breadth, though fifteen feet in length, I could only

escape the sun's rays by lying my length along at the foot of the tree, the latter forming the perpendicular of a figure of which my body was the base. Agonizing as was this state of things, seeing that I was much debilitated and under the influence of a strong fever, I could have borne it patiently if the earth would have condescended to have ceased its rotatory motion; but this accommodation not being afforded me by the terrestrial globe, I was obliged to shift my position as the shadow gradually obeyed the influences of the planet. At three in the afternoon we resumed our journey, and after descending into the valley through which flowed the *Jerahi*, pursued a north-westerly course until eight P. M., when just as the moon rose above the heights we entered upon a small plain and joined an encampment of Illyautees, who welcomed us in the usual way, and supplied us with dates and goat's milk.

CHAPTER VII.

The Mountains of Buctiari—Their general features, vegetable and animal productions—Banditti — Conflict —Defeat and Robbery—Habits of the Mountaineers.

It would, perhaps, be deemed objectionable in the present instance to pursue the narrative style, in endeavouring to impart to the reader some idea of the general characteristics of the mountains of Buctiari, in as far as the mention of a traveller's routine and the record of trifling events supersedes descriptive detail which it is usually thought desirable to preserve entire. I shall, therefore, venture in this place upon a separate sketch of the main features of the *terra incognita*, reserving the details of personal adventure for a later page.

The Buctiarian mountains, unlike the rest of the mountains in Persia, are remarkably lofty, the north-easternmost range remaining snow-clad during the hottest period of the year. The south-westernmost chain, at the foot of which, within five pharsaghs, lies the town of Bebuhan, and the chain which separates this town from the province of *Zeitoon*, in Khuzistan, are rocky and barren, and are even destitute of springs of fresh water. The latter range abounds with piles of stones affirming the ancient existence of buildings, but not one furnished the slightest trace of what the structures had been, nor did it appear upon the minutest inquiry that there were any inscriptions on any stones in the neighbourhood. Proceeding north-easterly the mountains assume a different character. Acclivitous forests of oak, walnut, and other hardy trees, wild vines, pear and apple trees, abundance of bush and berry, and an endless variety of the most exquisite wild plants* and flow-

* Many of these are reputed to possess great medicinal virtues. In fact, it is from these mountains that the Persians derive the famous gum termed *moomiai*, whose

ers* take the place of sterile rock ; while foaming cataracts, formed by the melting snows, tumble through the luxurious shrubbery and gradually diminish into little streams, watering the small plains or patches of table land where the mountaineers pitch their camp.

Assuming the relative geographical positions of Bebuhan and Isfahan to be correctly laid

healing and bone-setting properties have been alluded to by more than one traveller.

* Amongst the various flowers which adorn this earthly paradise the rose is abundant and of a mild fragrance. It is, however, very small,—smaller than the wild rose of Great Britain, and less odoriferous. The same inferiority in size, beauty, and smell, is likewise apparent in the cultivated rose—the far-famed *gûl* of the Persian gardens. One morning, while at breakfast at Bushirê, a servant of the residency brought to us a small nosegay as a *peshcush*, or present, the flowers composing which were the first of the season. Amongst them was a rose, but of such small dimensions, that I was tempted to inquire whether the rose of Persia—the fabled favourite of the bulbul —was not generally considered brilliant and of powerful scent? I think Captain Hennell then told me, that so far from the notion being correct, the flower was there so insignificant, though the trees were large, that it required at least two hundred thousand of them to make one ounce of *attar-gûl*—Anglicè, attar of roses.

down in our best maps of Persia, the breadth of the mountains, as the crow flies, would not appear to be very great—in fact, they do not cover a greater space than is contained within two degrees of latitude, and three of longitude; but so rugged and precipitous are their sides, that it requires ten entire days of actual travelling to cross them. From the absence of much table land, very little cultivation is carried on by the Buctiarians; and, perhaps, were there a larger proportion, the roving habits of these people would incline them to neglect an industrious application of its resources. I had no means of correctly ascertaining the height of the loftiest mountain it was my fortune to ascend; but if the degree of cold I experienced at seven A. M. on the 20th of June, 1831, may be considered to furnish a criterion, it is worth mentioning that, according to thermometrical observation, it was not less than 12° Farhenheit. The melted snow which flows from the mountains, forms the only supply of water which this quarter of Persia yields, if we except the small branch of the river Jerahi that meanders

through deep ravines for a short distance to the south-east.

Between *Bebuhan* and the luxurious town of *Simiroon*,* which is built on the side of a stupendous rock, and abounds in springs of delicious water, there is not a single modern building of any note. The mountaineers generally live under the shade of trees, in hollow caverns, in black tents, or occasionally shelter themselves under wicker screens. In two places however, they, and their flocks and herds, tenant the ruins of towns, which once must have enjoyed considerable importance, and justify the inference that the mountains have not always been the resort of brigands only. Elegant mosques, baths, caravanserais, and palaces of incredible extent, attest the ancient grandeur and importance of DEIDASS, (situated

* This town is four stages, or four days march, from Isfahan. The houses are built of excellent brick, their backs resting against the rock. Numerous groves and gardens separate the dwellings. The people import large quantities of indigo, and carry on the business of dyers to a great extent. I scarcely saw an individual whose hands were not dyed a deep blue.

within a pleasant vale,) while similar *débris*, though on a smaller scale, indicate the former consequence of *Sadāat*. The latter town was, during my short stay, undergoing some repair and fortification. A powerful chieftain had obtained (or assumed) the government of the place, and calling himself a *syud*, declared his right to a considerable sum, in the shape of tolls or gomruck, which my party were not in a condition to resist paying. The immediate neighbourhood of Sadāat is remarkable for extensive plantations of vines, the produce of which is sent to Shirauz, to be employed in the manufacture of wine.

The mountains of Buctiari are reputed to contain great numbers of wild beasts. During the three weeks that I sojourned in these fastnesses, it was not my fortune to see more than two boars* and one wolf; but I should imagine there can be no doubt of the existence here of

* They were very large specimens of the wild hog; they rushed from their frank within a yard of my horse's nose, and nearly unseated me by the alarm they inspired. They went down to the brink of a deep dell, and stood

the lion, the tiger, the antelope, and the jackall; indeed the innumerable prints of claws and hoofs perceptible on the clayey banks of the various mountain streams, convey strong circumstantial evidence of the fact.

The eagle, the owl, the hawk, the wood pigeon, and numberless smaller birds of sweet note and brilliant plumage, tenant these elevations; while squirrels, serpents, and land tortoises, eternally cross the traveller's path.

Utterly ignorant as I unfortunately am of botany, I am unable to furnish any particulars regarding the rich vegetable stores which adorn these wild and beautiful regions; but I may venture to affirm, for the benefit of those botanists and mineralogists whose courage is equal to their spirit of research, that there can scarcely be a spot on the globe which yields a more ample field for inquiry. Excepting in the rocky parts of the mountains, (and even from their fissures issue beautiful shrubs,) there are

long enough to enable me to draw the conclusion that they were of greater bulk than the grey boars of Western India.

not five yards of ground which are not covered with hardy, and, as alleged, useful plants, and brilliant and odoriferous flowers; while the strata vary in quality and complexion every ten or twenty miles.

There is no question of the salubrity of the Buctiarian mountains; their fertility is sufficient evidence thereof, while the rosy looks of the mountaineers furnish still stronger testimony. The khans of Bebuhan, numerously attended, resort to them during the hot months, and eat the frozen snow for its healthy properties, as the valetudinarian of Great Britain imbibes draughts of chalybeate at Bath and Cheltenham. In the mountains of Syria, the use of snow-water is said to produce *goitres*. No instance of this has been known to occur from a similar practice in Buctiari.

Numerous cemeteries are found in different parts of the mountains, but the stones bear no monumental inscriptions, nor any other mark than that of *a cross*.

The lawless character of the Fileah and Buctiarian tribes, the chief inhabitants of the

mountains, has long furnished a theme for the Persian traveller, and has formed the chief, if not the only, impediment to an earlier exploration of their retreat. It is certainly beyond question that any one venturing into the mountains without the protection of a *rackum* from the Begler Beg of Bebuhan or a *firman* from the Schah, would run great risk of personal violence; but armed with passports from *both* authorities, his safety will not be compromised, provided he comports himself with temper and discretion, and freely enters into the humour of the people. Out of pure wantonness and silly bravado, some of the mountaineers were wont to threaten me with injury, but they never attempted to carry their threats into execution until we had left the town of Simiroon. To the south of this place we were within the limits of the Begler Beg's influence, and as we regularly paid the tribute here and there exacted, we suffered no molestation, but on the contrary, experienced as much hospitality and attention as their paucity of means and the deficiency of culture enabled the tribes to

show. Four pharsaghs north-east of Simiroon, however, in a district where the people only acknowledge fealty to the Schah, we experienced one of those "disastrous chances" which render travellers very interesting personages in books and by family fire-sides, but which in actual experience are any thing but agreeable. In short we were attacked and robbed.—I can never forget the whole scene; it was romantic and picturesque in the extreme, and I only wanted the portfolio of the gentleman in "the Brigand" and a little of his presence of mind to sketch the Massaroni who, with his crew, drew so largely on our courage, activity, and pecuniary appliances.

We had left the woody portions of the mountains behind us, and had entered upon one of those extensive undulating wastes which distinguish the more level portions of Iran. The day was sultry and the ride tedious. We believed we had got fairly out of all chance of danger, and had ceased to observe that order of march, exhibiting a concentration of force,

which had hitherto seemed best adapted to our security. We were straggling at short distances from one another, my servant in the van, and were just on the point of ascending a little eminence, when a horseman, splendidly attired, suddenly appeared on the summit, and discharging a pistol in the air, as a signal of attack, dashed down the hillock followed by several others. "The shepherds fled for safety and for succour,"—*sauve qui peut* was the order of the day. In a few seconds, however, they rallied, and a sharp skirmish ensued, which ended in the whole of my party being discomfited, then driven together like so many sheep, their eyes bandaged, their hands tied behind them and their persons rifled. Of my own share in the transaction it is unnecessary to say more than that though I took as active a share in the distribution of blows as my companions, no personal violence was offered to me on the part of the assailants, and I was *merely robbed* of every thing valuable I possessed.

As soon as the brigands had secured the

victory and bound the "true men," they rode up to me while I was standing at a distance watching the progress of events, and discharging their pieces in the air, called out, "*Hakeem Saheb, bisheen*," "Sir Doctor, sit down"—a kind of half-mandate—half-request which I could not decline complying with. Besides I was rather fatigued. They then blindfolded me, drove the mules and horses up a hill, and taking with them one of the defeated party, (a merchant who had joined my escort a few days previously, with a small caravan of merchandize,) they desired him to point out the "Ingreze's" property: this he readily did; upon which they proceeded to cut to pieces my *khoordjs* or travelling bags, and to empty them of the money, silk handkerchiefs, knives, razors, spoons, blankets, and other useful little articles they contained.

They finished by thrashing *Hajee Moolla Muhomed Shuffa*, the merchant, until the poor fellow could scarcely stand, by way of testifying their gratitude for his officious zeal, and then galloped off to narrate their

exploits to their friends and to divide the spoil.

While this was going on, I pulled the bandage off my eyes, and found all my fellow-travellers lying with their faces to the ground, muttering pathetic appeals to Allah and Mahomed, and declaring they were all good Mussulmans. I implored them to rise and renew the combat, as we were still numerically stronger than our opponents, and tolerably well armed. But all I could get in reply from the caitiffs was, "O sir, don't speak—don't speak! our throats are all going to be cut—it's a settled thing—we are dead men!" The poor hajee now came down the hill crying and hallooing out to us to get up, which the party did after loosening the *cummrs* with which they had been helped to play at blind-man's buff. We then went up the hill, and began reloading the mules amidst the doleful lamentations of the hajee and my worthy guide, the latter of whom had taken the liberty of putting a large bag of gold belonging to the Begler Beg across one of my mules, thus realizing the notions of the Buc-

tiarians regarding the Englishman's wealth, and incurring a certain loss, for which his eyes, and probably his head, would have to pay.

The occupations of the Buctiarians resemble those of the Illyautees. The women weave carpets, bags, and saddle-cloths, tend the flocks, and prepare the food of the men; the latter do little but plunder, excepting when the neighbouring Persian princes require their services as soldiers, and then, like the Condottieri of Italy, they kill for reward, exact large privileges from their employer, and return to the mountains to enjoy the fruits of the campaign.

I have already said, that though the mountains of Buctiari are abundantly fertile in the wild products of nature, they yield but little of a quality essential to the supply of human wants, owing to the absence of convertible soil. The rice and flour, therefore, which occasionally compose the cates at a mountaineer's festival, are the result of commercial barter, or purchased with the money of the luckless victim of the brigand's daring, and, from their rarity,

become a kind of luxury. The ordinary food of these hardy wanderers is *mās*, or dry curds, goats' flesh, goats' milk, and acorns. They are liberal in their distribution of this fare to the passing stranger: but their hospitality is more than cancelled by the persecution of their curiosity. The moment we reached an encampment, or rude bivouac, and this happened once every two or three days, the women of the tribe would crowd around me, and solicit medical remedies for their various complaints—ophthalmia, cholic, vertigo, and *sterility*. They would, moreover, nearly strip me to the skin to examine my wardrobe, and not unfrequently caused my bags to be opened, their various contents spread out, and their objects explained to them. The men confined their inquiries to the European mode of making war, and to the points of faith maintained by the Christian. And here it would perhaps have been as easy for the mere purposes of gaining their confidence, and conciliating their good will, to have affected a conversion to Islamism, or an attachment to the doctrines of the Koran, as it was

to assume the Persian costume, or to shave the head and wear the beard; but a something which "stirred within me" rejected this stretch of hypocrisy, and I resolved, at all hazards, to declare my country and my faith whenever they became matters of question or discussion. I cannot form an idea of the difficulties into which a contrary course might have involved me; but I soon found an easy method of dismissing those which attended a frank avowal of belief in the divinity of Christ. Often, very often would an orthodox Moslem catechise me regarding the comparative merits of Issa, Moussa,* and Mahomet, and as often did I evade the gratification of such impertinence by a declaration of my utter ignorance of the contents of the Koran. On one occasion, a zealous Islamite, in order to provoke an argument, commenced for my benefit a summary of the doctrines of Mahomet, on which I found it particularly necessary to affect a total want of acquaintance with the Persian language.

Travelling through the Persian dominions is,

* Jesus, Moses.

in my opinion, at no time particularly comfortable; but in these mountainous districts it is much more inconvenient than elsewhere. To provide oneself with camp equipage, or furniture of any kind, is an absurd temptation of the cupidity of the tribes. Human habitations there are none, if we except the ruins at *Deidass* and *Sadāat*, and part of a solitary caravanserai at *Boah*; while the the tents of the Illyautees (into which, by the way, they rarely invite you) swarm with vermin. Adventurers must therefore content themselves with what poets call "the blue canopy of heaven," and esteem themselves happy if they now and then fall in with a rocky cavern to screen them from the heavy dews. Excepting rice, coffee, sugar, and some dried fruits, the traveller can scarcely carry any thing with him in the shape of food; and, as accident alone will bring him to a tenanted spot, where a little *māst* and milk will be obtained, he must be prepared to fast rather frequently during his pilgrimage; and this too when he is sinking with fatigue, and his appe-

tite sharpened by a forty mile ride over steep rocks.

It may easily be conceived from the sketch I have attempted to furnish of the chief features of the Buctiarian mountains, that none but the wild inhabitants of those fastnesses can possibly direct or guide the traveller on his route. Mahomed Hussein, the person who had been ordered by the Begler Beg to see me safe to Isfahan, merely knew that to reach that town it was necessary to travel in a north-easterly direction; but the unravelment of the mazes in which we were eternally involved was quite beyond his ken. We therefore were frequently obliged to take parties of armed Buctiarians from place to place, as much for the sake of guidance as of protection; and it was curious to observe the ease with which they traced the "invisible courses of the mountains." To use the language of an elegant modern writer,* "they knew the particular projection of a rock, and the tree of unusual appearance which admonished them to turn now to the right, and now

* Godwin.

to the left; so they were nothing more at a loss than a town-bred man among the streets of the city in which he was born."

"—— They knew each lane, and every alley green,
Dingle, or bushy dell of that wild wood,
And every bosky bourn from side to side."

I have endeavoured to preserve correct memoranda of the geographical positions of different locations in the mountains, and have embodied them in the map appended to this narrative. Little remains to be added to complete the account here offered of the districts which have so long been contemplated with awe. I may merely mention that the tribes appear to be a hardy race, by no means deficient in daring courage and a spirit of enterprise. They are very numerous, amounting in one single encampment near *Pellaut* to five thousand men, and no doubt make efficient soldiers in time of war; but must be troublesome subjects when the Persian sovereign has no need of their military assistance. In the observance of prayer, and the various religious ceremonies enjoined

by the Koran, the Buctiarians manifest a zeal and sincerity rarely perceptible amongst the inhabitants of towns. They have no mosques, nor do they need them amidst such a chaos of Nature's wonders. Human edifices, however sacred their purposes, would contribute little to elevate the thoughts, if so many sublime marks of the Creator's power were inefficient instruments. The Buctiarian, like the "early Persian," makes—

> "His altar the high places, and the peak
> Of earth o'ergazing mountains:"

and in these "unwalled temples" seeks—

> "The spirit—in whose honour shrines are weak
> Uprear'd of human hands."

CHAPTER VIII.

Reach Isfahan—Julfa—The Armenians—Plans for the improvement of their condition—A Convent and a Nunnery—A vestry dinner—Depart for Tabreez—Further detention—Adventures in a tomb—Journey over untrodden ground—Castor oil and leeches—General sketch of a new route through the heart of Persia—Reach Tabreez—Kindness of the acting Envoy.

THREE days after the rencontre mentioned in the preceding chapter, we reached Isfahan,—weary, sick, impoverished; in short, as Hajee Baba would express it, we had little left us but our souls. I took up my abode in a spacious caravanserai, but, as soon as I was able to crawl, removed from this offensive public haunt to a magnificent yet solitary dwelling in the adjoining village of Julfa. Here I endeavoured

to check the progress of the fever which had been my diurnal companion for the previous three weeks. My efforts, however, were unsuccessful; the enemy harassed me to such a degree, that in spite of the cheerful society of two or three charitable Armenians, the soothing companionship of flowers, fountains, and a decent library of English books belonging to my host, a few visits to Isfahan, and strolls about Julfa, my malady produced a temporary aberration of intellect. Nothing but a change of scene restored my health and senses.

The reader, if he wishes for a description of Isfahan, must consult the valuable and elaborate works of Chardin, Porter, Malcolm, Ouseley, and others. I can speak of nothing that the lovers of oriental splendour delight to hear. Every thing, to my perception, spoke of misgovernment, poverty, and oppression. Ruined caravanserais, decaying mosques, deserted palaces, empty shops—these are now the characteristics of this once famous metropolis. Nature, I suspect, is not less bountiful than erst she was, for the bazaars are still abundantly

supplied with the richest fruits and vegetables; but the hand of industry and the lights of science are wanting to controul her luxuriance. Noxious vegetation now spreads itself unchecked over the fairest gardens, and while it affects the salubrity of the city, must sooner or later poison the soil, and obstruct the growth of useful products.

The condition of the Armenian colony of *Julfa*, which has attracted the attention of former travellers and excited their regrets, did not altogether escape my observation; and I am happy to be able to say, that there seems to be grounds for hoping that the industrious Christian community inhabiting this district will ere long see better days. The Persians seem to think that they have done their worst towards these people, or possibly they apprehend that Abbas Meerza, who it is expected will fix his residence at Isfahan on his accession to the throne, and who is notoriously favourable to the Armenians, will retaliate the "woes and pains" of oppression upon those who may be rash enough to tempt his vengeance. In addi-

tion to this consideration, the Mussulmans begin to discover, that as long as they rob the industrious artisan and speculative trader of the fruits of his ingenuity and enterprise, they check all temptation to honest labour, and thus deprive themselves of those comforts and luxuries of life, which they are too indolent or ignorant to procure by their own exertions.

Education—education of a wholesome character too—is also doing something towards ameliorating the condition of the Armenians at Julfa. The Rev. Joseph Wolff promised a great deal on his visit, but to this moment Isfahan owes as little to his missionary efforts as Bushire, Bussorah, or any other town where he professed zeal for the welfare of the human race. A school has therefore been established pending the performance of Mr. Wolff's promises, and under all circumstances is making very considerable advances. It had been instituted about a month previous to my arrival by a Mr. Mesroop David, a young Armenian, who had received his education at Bishop's College, Calcutta, and who had there distinguished

himself by a translation into the Armenian tongue of Heber's "Palestine." He had returned to Isfahan, after an absence of nine years, on his way to Erivan, his native town, but was entreated by the Julfa community to remain, and afford instruction to the youth of the colony.

As far as resorting to his institution could be considered as encouraging his labours, Mr. David had no ground of complaint. He had upwards of one hundred and sixty scholars when I reached Isfahan, and numbered amongst them several "children of a larger growth"—priests who had learned to perform divine service by rote, but who were totally ignorant of the history and principles of their religion. Money was however wanting to render this interesting establishment efficient. The united subscriptions of the poor inhabitants of Julfa did not exceed five tomauns and a half per mensem, which was barely sufficient to furnish Mr. David with two moderate meals per day, far less to supply pens and paper, and other means and appliances of instruction. He seemed

nevertheless very zealous in his undertaking, and cheerfully appropriated his private property to its effectual accomplishment. To spare him this sacrifice I addressed the resident at Bushire, begging that part of the sum subscribed at Mr. Woolff's suggestion for the benefit of the Christians there, might be applied to Mr. David's purposes, and I shall be rejoiced to find that the suggestion has been acceded to. The money could not be better disposed of.

But it is not to be expected, notwithstanding the pause in Moslem persecution which the Armenians now enjoy, that these latter can readily return to the zealous pursuit of those avocations which formerly brought them so much wealth. They must have some security in the permanent establishment of a liberal and rational government, that their hives of honey will not again be rifled by the drones who infest their neighbourhood. Until then, Julfa will not make very rapid advances in the road to prosperity, but will continue a mere receptacle for indolence and priestcraft.

The present population of Julfa may be estimated at about two hundred and forty families, or nearly three thousand persons; and to supply their spiritual necessities there is an enormous proportion of bishops and priests. There are likewise a monastery and a nunnery here, both of which are very well supported. I was permitted to visit the nunnery, and there saw twenty-four heavy ancient dames, mortifying themselves in coarse blue cloth, close cells, and condiments. The lady abbess and her deputy received me very politely, and treated me to sweetmeats and anisette of their own making. They then led me to the chapel, the garden, and the galleries of the nunnery, in all of which I encountered fair devotees, muffled up to the nose, after the fashion of the Armenian ladies, and engaged in the various operations of sock knitting, smoking and praying. Poverty and dirt were the distinguishing features of the whole establishment.

The convent of Julfa is better found. The governing bishop and his confrères have ample

room, plenty of society, and a well furnished table. I dined once with his lordship and the churchwardens, and found that vestry honours and vestry appetites are not exclusively English characteristics. The dinner was spread as usual on the ground, on a large white cloth, around which the guests assembled. Placed opposite each guest was a plate, knife, fork, spoon, and glass, a piece of cheese, two or three feet of bread, and a hard boiled egg. The feast commenced by each person drinking a dram of aniseed; then came in quick succession mutton chops, boiled fowls, boiled kidneys, sour curds, tea, apricots, apples, and grapes, sweetmeats, and salt fish; to each of which laymen and churchmen did equal justice, finishing the feast with a sacrifice to Bacchus.

I remained a month at Isfahan, and passed the latter half of the time in arranging for my journey to Tabreez. As I was utterly incapable of mounting a horse, a *khadjava*, or litter, was provided for me; and it was agreed by my kind host, *Meckertich Zorab*, that I should join

a caravan of three hundred mules and horses, with a due proportion of drivers, instead of proceeding with a small escort as hitherto.

On the 18th of July, the principal charvedar or mule driver, came to me and proposed to leave Isfahan immediately. We did so, and pursuing a route through groves of poplars for eight miles, reached at nightfall the village of *Ven Isfahan*, or the *Child of Isfahan*.* The charvedar was a weaver as well as a muleteer, and quartered me for the night amidst looms and shuttles, promising that we should join the caravan "to-morrow." Perfidy, thy name is Persian! "There's no to-morrow," quoth the proverb—an assertion I had hitherto ridiculed as a piece of sophistry—but there now seemed a sad probability of its verification. For six days was I the sport of the muleteer's insincerity, and his dirty old wife's curiosity. Mewed up in a miserable mud-built hut; starved, pelted,† and interrogated; exhibited as a wild

* We should, perhaps, say "Little Isfahan."

† The children in Persia appear to enjoy no sport more than throwing stones at a Frangi. It was in vain

beast to the wondering gaze of the idle villagers, I was compelled to draw more largely upon my stock of patience than at any previous period of my vexatious journey. At length it was announced that the caravan *was* ready to move, and accordingly my suite and self were marched away a distance of *two English miles* on the night of the 24th of July. We came soon upon a plain, skirted with rugged hills. In the centre were picqueted ten score of *kath'rrs*, or mules, surrounded by bales of merchandise, corn bags, and boxes, protected by about thirty muleteers, singing an uproarious catch to the music of a copper kettle. My servant, *Meshedee*,* spread my carpet, brought me some delicious pears, and a bowl of sherbet, and then joined the songsters. I took my supper and went to sleep, expecting to be called

to repeat to them the old fable of the boys and the frogs.

* This fellow s real name was *Rajmalé*, but he acquired the appellation "Meshedee" from the circumstance of his being at the time on a pilgrimage to Meshed. I believe this custom is common in Persia.

up before day-break to commence the march to *Guz*. Judge of my surprise and vexation when, on waking the following morning, I found the sun rolling in all his splendour above my head, and my travelling companions still stationary! I had no tent; that which had been provided for me was so small that I had returned it, and should therefore have been obliged to spend my day in the open plain, but for the contiguity of a friendly mausoleum. Thither I repaired. It was a lofty building, of sexagonal form, the walls supporting a beautiful dome of sun-dried bricks. It was only open to the south-west, so that from the rays of the setting sun I did not sustain much inconvenience. In and about this tomb were divers minor repositories for the dead; and in a crevice between two compartments of the wall, moped and mused a "solitary owl."

About mid-day I received a visit from my conscientious charvedar. I was furious—he was humble; I expostulated—Syed Hussein explained; I relented—the driver smiled, and we smoked together "the calumet of peace."

My travelling map of Persia, now rather a ragged affair, was produced, and I begged Syed to enumerate the villages and towns we were to pass through on our way to Tabreez, that I might prepare myself a little by a few hours' perusal of Kinnier's Memoir for a visit to the lions of each. Syed obeyed; but to my infinite surprise and embarrassment he did not mention a single location indicated in the map. How was this? Were there various names for the same places? No. Was he acquainted with *Sow*, *Mochagord*, *Kashan*, *Koom*, &c.? O yes! Where we to pass through these? No. Did he know the way by *Gilpaegaon*, *Hamadan*, &c.? O yes. And were we not to take this route? No, no, no. Then how were we to proceed? "Saheb," said he, stroking his beard, and extinguishing his kaleoun, "the plague rages in all, or most of those towns, and the dogs of Khetkhodas who govern exact more *gomruck* than we have means to pay. We must therefore take a medium route. I do not think the Ingrezes know it, for none that I have heard of ever travelled there." He repeated the names

of the places. Again and again I searched the map, and finding no names to correspond with those he had stated, I came to the conclusion that a new field of discovery was before me. This inspired me with fresh zeal. I heartily forgave the charvedar his delinquencies, and then surrendering myself to the temptations of a pilau and a soft siesta, contrived to wile away the afternoon.

About the *mogrib*, or sun-set, my repose was disturbed by the chattering and tittering of a number of females congregated at the entrance of the mausoleum. I arose and addressed them. Concealing one side of her face, a dark-eyed damsel of delicate proportions shuffled towards me, and explained that her friends and self were come to strew flowers on the graves of deceased relatives, but they feared to enter while the stranger slept. I thanked their courtesy in hobbling Persian and beckoned them in, at the same time resuming my recumbent posture on the carpet. The forms of European politeness would have suggested an abstinence from this intrusion on the privacy of devotion;

and, in truth, I did feel a pressing inclination to leave my visitors to the undisturbed performance of their sacred duties; but experience in the mountains had taught me that the women of Iran had a strong predilection for other men's goods, and I could not now thoroughly divest myself of the idea that they were as much disposed to take from the living as to give to the dead. There are no laws against sacrilege in Persia, and purse taking is patronised where body-snatching is eschewed.

The damsels strewed their flowerets, to the accompaniment of an incessant giggle, and left as the "yellow moon" uprose. Soon after their departure I sallied out, enveloped in my abbah, and wandered amongst the tombs for an hour. My cogitations, I fear, were neither as profound nor as sublime as Hervey's, but they must have been of an absorbing character, for I came close up to two Persians, who were also taking their "evening walk of meditation," before I was aware of their proximity. We saluted; "Salaam alicum," said they. I gave the usual response, "Alicum Salaam." We

entered into conversation. They had just risen from prayer, and asked me if I had been engaged in similar *ceremony*. I answered in the negative. "Then," said one of them, "*when* do you pray? I am anxious to see a Christian at his prayers. What do you? Is it your fashion to kneel and bow the head to the earth as we do?" I knelt on an adjoining tombstone, and clasping my hands, cast my eyes upwards. "This," said I, "is the attitude of Christian devotion." "But why look up?" resumed the first speaker. "The eyes," said I, "of the truly devout Christian sympathise with his thoughts—and those he directs to God in heaven above." "O," rejoined my interrogator, "God is not alone *above*. He is here, and there, and there"—pointing with his finger in various directions—"in that imaam,* and on that hill." The Mussulmans are close debaters on theological matters, and I was not disposed to deny the omnipresence of the Deity. I shifted my ground, or rather I evaded subsequent inquiries, and became catechist in my

* Term for a Mausoleum.

own turn. "If, then, you deny that Allah abides in any single spot, why do you face the west, and bow to the sun as he declines?" "We do not bow to the sun," replied the Persian who had not hitherto spoken, "we are not Guebres to worship fire; neither do we respect the sun as the emblem of God's majesty. We bow lowly to the west, because in that direction lies *Kerbelah*!"* The first speaker here dropped down on his knees and commenced praying; the second sat down on a flat grave-stone. I returned to the tomb and the companionship of the owl, wondering how men who were sensible of their Maker's presence, and despised the idolatry of the Guebre and the Peruvian, could venerate the spot which contained the ashes of a quack and the founder of a corrupt system of religion.

That night, like the preceding one, was passed in the tomb; the whole of the following day found me still a tenant of this singular asylum; and I began to think that there I was

* *Mecca*—"Kerbelah" means any burial-place, but is more frequently applied to that of Mahomet.

doomed to remain, as the Irishman said, or is reported to have said, "all my life, and all my death." In the evening my fancy was busy in devising an epitaph for my remains, and I had already inscribed *hic jacet* above the narrow entrance to the mausoleum, when Meshedee came running to bid me take up my bed and walk. In half an hour the whole caravan, which had received an accession of one hundred mules, was in active motion, and we set off in processional order, rending the air with *bismillahs!** The owl seemed to regret my departure, for as I left the porch, after bidding him the most tender adieus, and thanking his hospitality, he uttered a sound something like a gibber and a squeak, and changed his position.

The reader will not thank me for the minute details of a weary journey of thirty days' duration through a country which possessed not an acre of interesting scenery, and whose monotony was unrelieved by a single incident or "moving chance." Considering that the ground was ut-

* "Praise be to God!" a common exclamation on commencing any undertaking, a kind of propitiatory cry.

terly unknown to our geographers, I did not fail to pay minute attention to its characteristics, and to the bearings and peculiarities of each village in whose neighbourhood we halted. The result of these observations forms part of the tintinerary at the end of the second volume, while the route has been inscribed on the map forming the frontispiece. I believe I can lay claim to accuracy of remark, and I only hope that the details may prove useful to the future traveller. The British authorities at Tabreez, indeed, requested a copy of the route, and flattered me by some encomiums on the addition thus furnished to their stock of topographical knowledge.

As I have said, thirty days were occupied by the caravan in reaching Tabreez. We travelled by night, and enjoyed little variety and entertainment, beyond what was furnished by the soft tinkle of the bells suspended to the leading mules and horses, and the merriment of the exhaustless charvedars. The power of these people to endure fatigue and privation almost exceeds belief. After travelling on foot

nearly the whole night at a pace equalling that of the amble of a mule, they were accustomed to unload their animals, rub them down, and then take them to water and to graze at a considerable distance from the halting place. Perhaps they might now and then take a nap on the bare earth exposed to the rays of a burning sun, while the mules were cropping the parched herbage in their neighbourhood; but their rest was of brief duration, for they would come at mid-day to fetch their scanty supply of *mâs* and coarse bread, and return to the pasturage ground until the setting sun indicated that it was time to prepare for a start. This brought them back to where the merchandize was deposited. Their first step was to measure out each mule's allowance of corn into the *tobrahs*, or nose-bags; their next, to resign themselves to mirth. Quip, crank, the jocund laugh, and roundelay, filled up the short interval granted to the mules' repast, at the close of which reloading commenced and the march was resumed. And this unwearied routine lasted for a month!

During half the journey we enjoyed the companionship of a moon and the refreshing influence of heavy dews. In the day-time, as I was without a tent, the charvedar contrived for me a comfortable shelter between bales of merchandize and under the canopy of a blanket.

It has been my misfortune, and still is, to have a dull comprehension in relation to geography. Read what I may of general descriptions of towns, I can never form a just idea of the aspect of any place in the known world until it is my fortune to see it. I certainly do contrive, (as who does not?) to imbibe some particular notions regarding divers lands, but either from some property of my intellect, or some extravagance of description on the part of the travellers whose books I have fallen in with, the realization and the idea never tally. I expected to find Persia a luxurious garden—I found it a mountainous desert—a very waste.*

Night after night the caravan wound its weary

* The reader must understand me to except the glorious mountains of Buctiari, of which, of course, no description had ever yet appeared.

way over plains of parched herbage and thorny shrubbery, scantily studded with mud built villages, and Illyaut encampments, which, with an occasional cluster of poplars, and a few narrow rippling streams, resembled, to use a literary metaphor, poetical quotations scattered through a huge folio of heavy prose, to lighten *le plomb* of the diction.

Cultivation, however, *must* be extensive in Persia; for, throughout the route, flour was abundant, though I saw but few patches of grain. In fact, excepting at three places between *Isfahan* and *Zunjoon*, I scarcely noted a single plantation of sufficient apparent extent to meet the wants of the town or village to which it was contiguous. Of these three places, the space between *Gozel-darrée* and *Hakiam** is most rich and fruitful: it is indeed quite glorious in fertility. For several consecutive miles of the journey, our road was skirted with fields of clover, wheat, and the castor-oil plant; and in the immediate neighbourhood of the first-

* See Map and Itinerary.

named village I counted no less than one hundred reapers at work. They use the same kind of sickle as in England, bind the fruit of their labour in sheafs, and send it away on asses.

Apropos of the castor-oil plant. It is probably well known to all who may honour these pages with a perusal, that this plant is reared by the Persians in view to its domestic consumption when expressed into oil; it is in truth the only oil they burn. Of the medicinal virtues of the oil, the inhabitants of the villages through which I passed knew nothing; and it was reserved for me, to whom they flocked for relief from their bodily infirmities, as well as for the gratification of curiosity, to introduce them to their acquaintance. Those who are familiar with the animosity of the Persians to every innovation or novelty, will easily conceive that the task of convincing them of the utility of the plant was fraught with difficulty. I accomplished it by insisting on implicit obedience to my wishes, as the condition of medical aid, promulgating every where the startling doctrine that the orders of

the *Schah* and of the *Hakeem* were alike absolute. In the same way I was fortunate enough to be able to bring into fashion the application of leeches on particular occasions. The streams which water the plains abound with these useful little blood-suckers, and there was consequently no difficulty in obtaining them when requisite.

Between the villages of *Shahee-samon* and *Kharee-a-Baugh*, the ground was literally covered for many miles with beautiful sky-blue stones, much resembling the *lapis-lazuli*, or turquoise, in texture and complexion. It did not occur to me when first these met my eye, that however ignorant English travellers might be of the ground I was crossing, it was a common thoroughfare with the Persians, and that they, who are expert lapidaries, would long since have turned to account the pebbles which lay scattered in their path, had they offered any advantage. Believing that I had found an *El Dorado*, I leaped out of my khadjava, and assiduously applied myself to the collection of the precious rarities; but a little reflection, and the sneers of the muleteers, chastened my eager-

ness and corrected my ignorance, and I contented myself with preserving one specimen for the inspection of the curious in geology.

I found no difference between the manners of the villagers in our route, and the reported habits of those who inhabit the known roads. Indeed it would have been strange if I had, seeing that in the least frequented spots, we were at most not more than seventy English miles from the oft-visited towns of *Hamadan* and *Koom*. The kolah, or goat-skin cap, the green or blue tunic, the loose trowser, and the scarlet boot or coloured slipper, constitute the costume; *mās*, fruit, bread, and pilaus, compose the ordinary diet. The buildings too are of the same character as most others in known Persia, save, perhaps, in the village of *Veitch*, where the location resembles a cluster of bee-hives, and has not the protection of a wall.

The districts, at least during the period of my journey, were remarkably peaceful, and the safety of the caravan seemed to run no risk of compromise. Once indeed there was an alarm, and a cry of "*Dus, dus!*"* but it appeared

* Thieves, thieves!

either to have been suggested by a spirit of mischief on the part of some charvedars, or to have arisen from a mistake, for no banditti made their appearance.

Until we entered the provinces subject to Abbas Meerza's rule, the people appeared to hold the Prince Royal in dislike, and to exhibit much hostility to his future succession. As we advanced, however, a very different sentiment prevailed; and it is but justice to Abbas Meerza to record, that in the territory under his administration, a greater degree of order and prosperity reigned than was perceptible any where else. It was pretended between *Doodhekh* and *Zunjoon*, that the money in use at Isfahan and Tabreez was not current at half its value, and I found myself a considerable loser in all pecuniary transactions. On reaching the districts of the Prince Royal, I inquired into the causes of so arbitrary a depreciation of the established coin of the realm, and found to my mortification, that it was merely one of the many expedients adopted by the Persian peasantry to fleece the easy Englishman.

The plague had been raging with great fury at Tabreéz for some time previous to my quitting Isfahan, and following the ordinary caravan roads, had spread its ravages in a southerly direction to most of the principal towns. This was one of my charvedar's alleged inducements to take a rarely trodden path. The influence of the contagion had, however, been more extensive than was imagined. We passed through many villages completely depopulated, and encountered numerous caravans of mules and camels bearing fugitives from various quarters.

Reaching *Hajee Agha*, seven pharsaghs from *Tabreez*, I inquired where the British envoy was to be found, as it was my anxious desire to see him personally before I ventured nearer the "*city of the plague*," with a view to obtain pecuniary means for the further prosecution of my journey, and to solicit his advice as to my future proceedings. I found that no new envoy had been appointed to succeed Sir John Macdonald (deceased,) but that Captain Campbell, the chief attaché or

assistant, was performing the duties of the office, and had moved from *Tabreez* to the valley of *Astaree*, sixteen miles from the city, with the double object of avoiding contamination and of enjoying the salubrious climate of that site. I wrote to Captain Campbell by a mounted cossid, and was answered in the spirit of a gentleman, and with the kindness of a friend. I owe a large debt of gratitude to Captain Campbell, and it delights me to have this opportunity of publicly acknowledging his urbanity and generosity. Though a perfect stranger to him, he paid immediate attention to my wants; sent me money,—a beautiful Arabian charger to convey me to my destination—an active attendant—provided me with excellent quarters in the ark or citadel of *Tabreez*—invited me to his camp (where I partook of the hospitalities of his table, the society of intelligent English ladies and gentlemen, and the comfort of a tent)—supplied me with ample funds for the journey to Trebisond, honoured me with letters of introduction to consuls, agents, and pachas,

and loaded one of my horses with acceptable provisions for the route, and fifteen bottles of excellent Georgian wine!

Englishmen are generally accused of an indifference to the necessities of their countrymen, unless they be properly introduced and recommended, and even then their civilities rarely go beyond an invitation to dinner: a successful appeal to the purse is deemed little less than a miracle.

The above enumeration of Captain Campbell's bounties is a sufficient comment on the scandal. I shall retain a recollection of his liberality to the last moment of my life, and heartily pray for his prosperity.*

* I observe that Captain Campbell has been appointed permanently to the important post of envoy. The selection viewed either with reference to Captain C.'s qualification for the office or his influence in Persia, is most judicious, and if followed up by the active support of the British government may be productive of the happiest effects.

CHAPTER IX

Tabreez—Costume—Distaste for manufactures—Abbas Meerza's palace—The Ark—The Russian deserters—Political condition of Persia—Measures essential to Persian strength—The Persian army.

I WAS much disappointed at Tabreez or Tauris.* Description—my *mirage*, my will o'the wisp—had seduced me into an expectation that I should see a spacious and well-built town, and the fame of Abbas Meerza, coupled with the traces of tolerable government observable

* It is much to be deplored that the "confusion of tongues" has caused so many different names to be attached to one and the same place. Foreigners call this town *Tauris*, but the natives of Persia, who are surely the best authorities, invariably term it *Tabreez*. What a valuable piece of work would be a universal Geography!

in his southerly districts, inspired me with the hope that I should find comparative prosperity and activity. Tabreez *is* unquestionably a spacious town viewed with reference to the extent of other Persian cities, and may be considered on the whole rather clean, but more than this in commendation I cannot set down. The recent ravages of the plague, and the absence of the Prince Royal with the flower of his army, had materially tended to thin the streets and empty the shops,—casualties for which I made due allowance in examining the state of the city; but after giving my imagination a wide scope, and attentively listening to the reports of those who saw her in all her pride and all her pomp, the conclusion was inevitable, that Tabreez is at the best but a wretched affair.

The inhabitants of Tabreez are more showy in their attire than those of other parts of Persia, and endeavour, as I understand, to imitate the picturesque costume of the Georgians and the half-European dress of the Russians. This, of course, is the result of their contiguity to the Russo-Georgian provinces. Their bazaars (which

by the way are miserable structures) present a considerable stock of German and Russian manufactures,* brought from Teflis and Constantinople, and meet with a ready sale; but of the fruits of Persian ingenuity and activity hardly a sign was perceptible. This indifference to useful arts and professions is not, however, confined to Tabreez. Perhaps there is scarcely a country in the world which, considering the pervading taste for luxury, consumes so large a quantity of foreign manufactures without returning an equivalent in kind. Excepting a few silks, some cashmere shawls and carpets, Persia sends little beyond seas, or even into the territories of her Russian and Turkish neighbours.† Her payments are therefore, in most cases made in specie, a system fraught with immeasurable injury to the country, but

* I have heard that the exports from, and imports into, Georgia of German goods, amount to no less than one million and a half sterling per annum.

† I do not refer to the products of India which reach these people through Persia, for in respect to them she is but the medium of another commerce.

which must sooner or later have an awful termination.

A ludicrous instance was related to me when at Tabreez, of a patriotic endeavour on the part of a respectable Persian, who had spent some years in England, to induce the government to encourage domestic manufactures. He assured Abbas Meerza that the cloths, the woollen cloths so generally used in Persia, and which were of European fabrication, were *unclean;* that he had witnessed the whole process of manufacture, and was quite certain that if his countrymen were rendered sensible of the impure methods taken to convert wool into broad cloth, they would doff their polluted garments, and seek to supply the absence of such esteemed habiliments by the industry of their own hands. Abbas Meerza, struck with the report, immediately authorized his patriotic adviser to repair to the chief moollahs, and desire them to denounce European broad cloths in all the mosques. But these venerable enemies to innovation—these "potent, grave, and reverend" Eastern Tories,

peremptorily refused the office, affirming they could not, or would not, credit the tale until *they* had had ocular demonstration of the fact.

The British residency at Tabreez is a poor building, utterly unworthy of the individuals for whose use it is destined. A great deal of money has been spent at different times in repairing and beautifying, but to so little purpose that the principal officers have, I believe, been obliged to purchase or erect other houses for themselves.

Abbas Meerza's palace is a respectable edifice, and that is all that can be said of it. It was unoccupied during my stay, excepting by those fair enchantresses who soothe the softer hours of the warlike prince. *Kerman* was in rebellion, and the shahzadah found no time to

"Play with mammets, and to tilt with lips."

The harem was, therefore, under the custody of an old Frenchwoman, who taught the damsels knitting and embroidery, boxed their ears, and restrained the erratic propensities of their hearts and eyes.

" A dame who kept up discipline among
The female ranks, so that none stirr'd or talk'd
Without her sanction on their she parades:
Her title was, 'The Mother of the Maids.'"

La Bonne, who was an occasional visitor of mine hostess of the Ark (a Mrs. Nisbett*) pretended in Mahomedanized French that her father had rendered essential pecuniary aid to Louis Philippe d'Orleans, when, like Dionysius of old, the citizen king was an expounder of classic mysteries and a flagellator of urchins; and she honoured me with a dispatch to the French consul at Trebisond, praying, amongst other matters, that the government of France would requite the father's bounty by a pension to the daughter.

The Ark—a happy term for a fortified building which furnished a refuge from the devastating effects of the plague,—contains, besides a variety of vaulted apartments resembling the stables of a caravanserai, and a vast circular tower of great height and thickness, the arsenal

* The exemplary wife of the worthy superintendent of Abbas Meerza's arsenal, Deputy Commissary Nisbett.

of the Prince Royal, and barracks for some thousand troops. The only occupants of the barracks during my stay were seven hundred Russians, principally deserters from the imperial army, who now composed a portion of one of Abbas Meerza's disciplined regiments. They seemed rather a fine looking set of young men, and furnished with their pale faces, light hair, light blue eyes and shaven chins, an agreeable contrast to the swarthy complexions and flowing beards of the true Mussulmans. In habit, these Russians are reported to be a submissive, orderly body, and are not remarkable for any other vice than drunkenness, in which they indulge upon every pretext and at every opportunity; but then their intoxication is productive of no violence, for a drowsy lethargy steals over their senses, and they slink into a corner to sleep themselves to sobriety. All this must arise from constitutional apathy, of which a stronger instance cannot be adduced than the fact of a thousand of them having suffered themselves to be marched into Tabreez as prisoners of war, during the last campaign against

Russia, with muskets and fixed bayonets in their hands, escorted by a very small number of Persians! Of the sagacity of the latter in allowing their captives to retain their weapons it is not necessary to say much. Perhaps they knew they might rely upon the tame submisson of the Russians; or, with their habitual eye to the main chance, deemed it a cheap way of carrying a supply of firelocks into Tabreez.

My bed (the first I had slept on for five months) was placed in a court-yard near my apartment, and just under the walls of the barracks. As the soldiery were generally extremely quiet, I was greatly surprised one night by a discharge of fireworks, accompanied by loud shouts, barekillahs,* and huzzas. I rose and went out to ascertain the cause, when a centinel who was *seated on a nummud, quietly smoking his kaleoun (!) his musket resting against a wall*—(Hear this, ye martinets; lift up your hands, ye serjeant majors!)—informed me that the regiment was rejoicing because news

* Expressions of admiration.

had been received of the fall of Warsaw! The report, I knew, was a false one; but supposing it to be true, the conduct of the soldiery was so singular that it naturally led me to make a little inquiry into the state of their feelings towards the government of their native country. It seems they cordially detest Russia, and every thing connected with her government, and would suffer any privation and punishment rather than return into her territory: in fact, numbers had apostatized from the faith in which they were bred and had become good Mussulmans. They rejoiced, they said, because the fall of Warsaw furnished them, the servants of a state *now* in alliance with Russia, with a pretext for merry-making; and they would have been equally uproarious if Moscow had succumbed to the Poles. Like Sir Lucius O'Trigger, they left the lazy sons of peace to settle the grounds of a quarrel, contenting themselves with fighting when they were bid, and carousing with wine, wassail, bonfires, and crackers when a victory (no matter by whom) was gained. Notwithstanding this explanation,

I still suspect that the government of Tabreez had some share in directing the signs of merriment; for, on a subsequent occasion, when Warsaw did really fall, a *feu de joie* and salute of one hundred and one guns was fired, in order that the Russian authorities, or delegates at the court of the Prince Royal, might be deceived with respect to the secret sympathy for the Polish cause subsisting in every Persian bosom.

The political condition of Persia, at the present moment, is critical and embarrassing, and it seems to me that our government is inexcusably indifferent to a state of things demanding dispassionate examination and watchful superintendence. Bound by the terms of a secret treaty, in which her prospective advantages bear no proportion to the concession she is called upon to make in aid of Russian views, Persia stands some chance of one day becoming a mere dependency on the mighty autocrat, and a stepping-stone to an assault upon our possessions in the East. I do not pretend to dive quite as deeply into the womb of futurity as

the far-sighted Colonel de Lacy Evans, or to anticipate any immediate shock in that quarter, while we have three hundred thousand men at arms, an admirable commissariat, a well-protected frontier, eighty millions of attached fellow subjects, and an energetic and able government, and while Runjeet Singh possesses no greater force than he is now proved to have. But as *any* attempt to shake our authority in India, whether sooner or later, must be met by measures involving expense, bloodshed, and inconvenience, it seems a point of duty with the British ministry to interpose before the march of time increases our difficulties and deranges our present position. Of the different modes of interference, legally and beneficially, not one occurs to me as likely to produce happier effects than the affording to the army of the Prince Royal of Persia, countenance and assistance during a state of peace. The free permission of British officers to enter the service, the bestowal of royal commissions on those now employed, and the supply on moderate terms of the *materiél* of war, would evince a regard for the mainte-

nance of the integrity of the Persian dominions, fraught with ultimate advantage to ourselves and encouraging to our old and faithful ally.

I dare not cherish the vain hope that the suggestions of so humble an individual as the author of these pages, will operate favourably in the quarter where alone the power of execution lies; but as the accumulation of correct information is often an object of too much importance with the government to render it fastidious as to the source of its knowledge, I may be excused for entering in this place upon a brief view of the present constitution and resources of the Prince Royal's army, showing, by what has been done, how much may yet be effected.

The disciplined forces of Adzerbijan, the province under the immediate rule of the heir apparent, consists of about twelve thousand infantry, twelve hundred horse artillery, and one regiment of lancers, drilled and organized according to European tactics. They are divided into ten battalions of Persians, and two of

Russians, deserters from the army in Georgia; some of whom, as I have already observed, have become Mahomedans, the remainder continuing in their original faith. These battalions are named after the provinces in which they have been respectively raised—a system of distinction which might, during periods of domestic convulsion, produce unfavourable disunion in the army, but which has hitherto only operated as a stimulus to emulation. Thus there are Tabreezes (from Tabreez,) Hamadanees (from Hamadan,) Kansehs, Marangas, two battalions of Affshars, Khoies, Caradaghis, Kemsehs, and Sheegaugees. The disciplined infantry is called *Serbâz*: the artillery, which consists of twenty-five pieces of different calibre, mounted and in condition for service, are termed *Topchehs*. They form a most useful and efficient branch of the army, and have called forth the encomiums even of the Russian officers. The costume of these troops is a green jacket (excepting the guards, who wear red;) wide and loose white trowsers, and boots which reach to the

knee; the head-dress is the black lamb-skin cap usually worn throughout Persia.*

The pay of the disciplined forces amounts to one tomaun (twelve shillings) per man per month, during the time they are actually embodied, which, excepting when they are engaged in a campaign is generally for about eight months in the year. The guards and Russian regiments receive their pay during the whole of the year, for they of course are not dismissed to their homes like the rest of the army, but quartered in the barracks at Tabreez and elsewhere. What the scale of pay of the Persian officers may be I cannot exactly say; they are, I know, remunerated according to their relative ranks, and some have as much as six and eight hundred tomauns per annum. The European officers are rewarded according to the degree of estimation in which they are held by the Prince Royal and the importance of their different charges. Altogether, the expense of the army

* A very good drawing of this costume may be found in Sir R. Ker Porter's volumes of Travels in Persia.

in pay, equipment, and provisions, may amount to about two hundred thousand tomauns per annum.

No bounties are granted to men on entering the Persian regular army, but on their retirement they are rewarded, if their service has been long and meritorious, with enams, grants of land, pensions, medals, and orders of the Lion and the Sun. These honors are likewise conferred during actual employ, and to them may be added the charms and allurements of promotion. But while the government is thus anxious to recompense merit, it is not slow to avenge a dereliction of duty. Military flogging, as practised in the English army, arrest, imprisonment, and degradation from rank, visit the minor offences of the soldier; and in extreme cases the criminal is either shot, or blown away from the mouth of a cannon.

As bounties are not given, it may be concluded that enlistment is not always voluntary. Certain districts, towns, or tribes, are required to furnish a stated quota of men, and the best formed and most active are chosen for employ.

If desirous, they can generally obtain their discharge after a certain term of service.

Attached to the Persian army is a commissariat, or quarter-master, and quarter-master's serjeants, who are charged to collect provisions from the districts, and distribute them to the men according to certain regulations. These functionaries are under the immediate orders of some officer of rank, who, in the exercise of his superintending powers, issues requisitions to the chiefs of districts, towns, or villages, who supply what is required, receiving receipts in due form, which are passed to their credit in the accounts of the revenue. The system, though excellent in principle, is not however of equally good operation. In parts of the country agitated by warfare, or civil disturbance, arising from the impotency of governors, much oppression and irregularity occur in the collection of provisions.

Considerable attention is paid to the sick of the Prince Royal's army, which is rather a singular circumstance in a country where pharmacy is so shamefully neglected. In garrison,

particular quarters are set apart for those afflicted with the maladies "flesh is heir to," and they are placed under the care of the native doctors, (two of whom are attached to each battalion,) unless the case is serious, and circumstances will admit, when the assistance of the British medical officers is called in.* In the field, the sick are placed in a hospital tent; and when marching, are carried on cattle levied on the country passed over. The native medical men march with the battalions.

The camp equipage attached to the regular forces consists of tents, cooking utensils, and a small quantity of baggage for each man, the whole of which is carried on mules, horses, or asses, according to circumstances.

* There are but two of these gentlemen now at Tabreez. One of them, Dr. Cormick, is on the point of retiring to England; the other, Dr. M'Niel, a person of brilliant talents both as a diplomatist and a physician, is attached to the British mission, and cannot be called upon to visit the sick as a matter of duty, though active humanity sometimes prompts him to render his aid. Thus, in a little time, Abbas Meerza will be without any English surgeon in his camp.

The officers of the disciplined army are partly young men about the court, sons of the nobility, who have served for a certain time as beg gadeys, or cadets; the rest are the chiefs, or relations of the chiefs of tribes, where, as is often the case, the regiment is raised from a tribe. I do not include the European officers, for their number is now greatly reduced. Messieurs Shee, Burgess, Littlejohn, and Borowski, (a Pole,) are the only gentlemen* now in Abbas Meerza's service; but they are gallant spirits and clever soldiers, and have done much to maintain the European character, and preserve the efficiency of the army. Captain Shee, who temporarily exercised the chief command, is an officer in the East India Company's service on the Madras establishment, and Mr. Littlejohn was formerly in a British regiment, and rendered material service to the ex-Pacha of Bagdad in disciplining his guards. The privates in the Persian regiments are much at-

* There are seven or eight European serjeants with the army, who are good drill masters, but of no other material value.

tached to these gentlemen, (particularly to the three Englishmen,) and look up to them as redressers of their grievances, and invariably apply to them whenever injustice is practised. The officers, too, of the best and most efficient class, have always been on terms of sincere friendship with the English. Those, however, who have owed their promotion to court favour and intrigue, are less favourably disposed to their western associates, and show their hostility whenever they can do so with safety to themselves. This latter evil would be counterbalanced if a larger infusion of European talent and energy were encouraged and permitted by the British government. I say nothing of the political advantages which might accrue from such a measure, for those would in some degree depend on the personal character of the individuals. Major Hart, who for many years commanded the Prince Royal's army, acquired amazing influence throughout the country, and at the court of his employer. In fact, he was the *alter ego* of Abbas Meerza. Colonels Lindsay and Monteith were likewise

effective instruments in maintaining British ascendancy, while of Sir Henry and Major Willock, Sir John Macdonald, and the officers of the present mission, it is only necessary to say, that Persia owes her salvation entirely to their united exertions.

Of the superiority of discipline over irregular forces, it would be an impertinence at the present day to descant. It is sufficient to mention, that throughout the war with Russia, they maintained an immeasurable pre-eminence over the undisciplined troops, though badly commanded, in almost every action. At Aberan, where they were led on by a famous chief named Goreb Khan, and others of tried courage, they took fifteen hundred Russians prisoners, and killed and wounded a much greater number. During the past year (1831) they took the fort of Baft near Yezd, unaided by artillery, and opposed to a body of defenders far superior to them in numerical strength. Near Sulimaneah, a battalion of regular infantry, with two hundred of the Russian deserters and four guns, defeated with considerable slaughter three thou-

sand five hundred of the Koordish horse, after an action of four hours' duration. Instances might be multiplied of their steadiness and efficiency under proper training, but these will suffice.

It is true, that the great mass of the people, averse to innovation and ignorant of their real interests, have for a long time viewed the regulars with hatred and contempt, classing them with "Russian dogs" and pork-eaters, and refusing them the common offices of hospitality. But this feeling is partial, and on the decline. The people of Adzerbijan, who have had the best opportunities of judging of the beneficial effects produced by a disciplined force, compared with a totally irregular one, are decidedly favourable to it; and during the late campaigns of the Prince Royal in the south, east, and heart of Persia, the unfavourable impressions hitherto entertained have been almost entirely effaced.

The irregular forces of Persia may be said to consist of the whole of the tribes in the Schah's dominions. They are all bred to arms,

and fight either on foot or horseback,* according to their means and the nature of the country. The inhabitants of the towns also furnish contingents of horse and foot, and there are always about the persons of the king and all the royal family, a certain number of ghoolams, or body guards, who form a sort of irregular standing army, and are employed on all occasions, and for all kinds of service. The forces not thus constantly employed—the tribes—are paid by sums of money when embodied, grants of land, grain, &c. as soon as dismissed; or these bonuses are sometimes given in advance as retaining fees for future calls that may be made upon them.

During my stay at Tabreez, some rumours prevailed that the Prince Royal meditated the removal of his court and head-quarters to Isfahan. The object of such a proceeding would evidently be to secure the succession to the throne on the demise of the Schah, an event which the Prince's brothers in the south are

* The horsemen of the south commonly bear lances; the Koords invariably do so.

much inclined to dispute. It seems, however, doubtful whether the advantage thus gained would atone for the risk of farther Russian encroachment, to which the province of Adzerbijan would be exposed. It is likely enough that Abbas Meerza's eldest son would be left to govern the province aided by a small army; but the whole of the disciplined troops must be removed, and kept about the person of the Prince Royal, or his change of quarters would scarcely be of any utility. This is a further argument in favour of an extension of the European system, which I repeat can only successfully be achieved through the immediate countenance of the British government.

CHAPTER X.

Departure from Tabreez—My domestic—Picturesque Villages—A Barber—Khoie—Disagreeable reception—Fertility of Khoré—Persians bad marksmen—Change of scene—Turks—Mount Ararat—Gay encampment—Koords.

The caravans had ceased, for the season, to proceed to Arzeroum, and no plan of advance offered itself but that of hiring four or five horses, and taking the road under the guidance of the owner of the cattle. This was arranged for me by my worthy host, Mr. Nesbitt, for the sum of twenty tomauns, half of which it was stipulated should be paid in advance. The nights were fine, and Cynthia (as a poet would say) diffused a soft and silvery light o'er hill

and plain. I therefore stipulated for nocturnal marches, and a daily halt in a village; for I had suffered so much from a *coup de soleil*, and the glare of mid-day, in the southern plains, that I was determined not again to risk similar consequences.

It was my object, on reaching Tabreez, to rest a few days and then to push on to Teflis *en route* to Tcherkask, across the Caucasas, intending subsequently to proceed to Poland. The advanced period of the season, the prevalence of the cholera and consequent quarantines, added to the distracted state of the country, owing to the war then raging, induced me, by the advice of Captain Campbell, to change my plans; and, accordingly, Constantinople now became my destination.

I quitted Tabreez early in September, accompanied by the owner of the horses, and my servant Ishmael—a short, stout, blear-eyed native of Tehraun, who had succeeded to the office of valet, vacant by the retirement of Rajmalée, alias Meshedee. The latter was bent on his pilgrimage; and being, moreover, ignorant of

the Turkish language, could render me no further service. I parted with Meshedee with some regret. Our acquaintance had commenced in the mountains of Buctiari, where he was in the habit of walking by the side of my horse, beguiling the journey with stories and anecdotes, plucking fragrant flowers for my amusement, and eagerly running to fetch me water whenever we approached a cool streamlet. These services, for which he could with difficulty be prevailed on to accept any remuneration, forcibly recommended him to my employ; and, if any other inducement were wanting, I recollected he had manifested a great deal of courage and spirit in our brush with the mountaineers. As a forager on the road from Isfahan, he was invaluable, frequently going two or three miles, after a long night's march, to purchase milk, fruit, and bread, for his master's refreshment.

As I have said, we left Tabreez on the night of the 9th of September. My equipage consisted of four horses; one of which bore my *khoordjs*, or travelling bags, filled with clothes,

and another carried the provisions sent me by Captain Campbell. My servant and self bestrode the remaining two.

I confess the prospect of the present journey did not produce the same agreeable sensations as my recent peregrination. I was now to go over, to a certain degree, oft-beaten ground; and a sense of comparative security repressed all that excitement which constitutes the charm of travel. I would not have it believed that I affect to love danger, and court it for its own sake: no; like many a gay spirit that marches to battle with an ensign's glittering epaulette and a maiden sword, I merely wished for a rencontre for the sake of the subsequent *eclat*, taking it for granted that the same guardian genius which had brought me out of past difficulties would preside over my destinies in future skirmishes. But there seemed little chance of any further interruption. Between Tabreez and Bayazeed the country was said to be in a state of tranquillity, and between Arzeroum and Trebisond there was likewise secure travelling. It was merely hinted that in the journey from Bayazeed to Arze-

roum I should encounter a few encampments of Koords, who might be inclined to offer molestation unless a well-known officer of the government was appointed to accompany me. This was scarcely encouraging enough, and I accordingly started in a very sullen humour.

The first night we reached the village of *Maiyun*, where we remained until the following evening, when we again set off, and by dawn the next day arrived at *Dizzur-Khul'l*.

Though averse to travelling during the heat of the day, I had no objection, after repose, to stroll through the different villages where we halted, and to examine their peculiarities. They were, in the districts through which we now passed, eminently pretty and rich in fertility. *Dizzur-Khul'l* appeared to be a populous, extensive, and extremely fruitful village, abounding in luxuriant vines, peach and pear trees, poplars, the willow, the cypress, the sycamore, and the ash. Streams of sweet water ran through the centre of each street or lane in the village, while the vine forced its way through the walls of each garden, and overhung their

summits, giving a graceful and picturesque effect to the whole location. I was quartered in a comfortable little apartment of a house consisting of only two, the windows of which were glazed, and the floors matted. My poor servant and the owner of the horses did not fare so well. Lodged in a stable, infested with vermin and scorpions, they did not enjoy a moment's rest, but were bitten and stung to such an awful degree, that on the morning following our arrival they could neither open their eyes nor their mouths.

A fatiguing march of six pharsaghs brought us to the village of *Tâsuch*, which resembled *Dizzur-Khul'l* in luxuriance of vegetation, but was of greater dimensions, and surrounded by much finer scenery. The streets formed so many groves of fruit trees and poplars, through which meandered numerous little canals. Under a cluster of mulberry trees, about the centre of the village, was a spacious well of water and a small cascade; and in the neighbourhood of these stood a bazaar for the sale of meat and fruits, a few summer sheds, and a barber's shop.

Here, in the cool of the evening, the inhabitants assemble after the day's labour, smoke their kaleeouns, submit their caputs to the operations of the village tonsor, and laugh at his whim and his garrulity; for in Persia, as in most other countries, the barber is a licensed gossip, and a retailer of intelligence. It was thus I found them employed on the day of my halt. I mingled with the cheerful throng, and being dressed in a green frock and a blue cloth forage-cap, was soon singled out by the hawk-eyed Figaro, whc uttered some angry ejaculations, and created a stir amongst the company by directing attention to my person. The blithe and joyous sounds which had drawn me to the spot now ceased, and murmurs and sour looks pervaded the whole assembly. I stepped forward, and salaaming to the potential barber, offered the best apology I could for the intrusion. "The fame of your brilliant wit," said I, "attracted me to your neighbourhood; and even if you now desire my absence, I shall depart with the consolation that the desert of my understanding has been watered and rendered

verdant by the pure streams of your fertile fancy." "Mashallah!"* exclaimed *Il Barbiere*, "may your shadow never be less! I am yours. Pity 'tis that one whose language is sweet as pomegranate sherbet, and whose judgment is deep as the mines of Nishapour,† should be no better than a Sug-i-Moscov!" (Russian dog.) This explained the repugnance of the party to my presence. They believed me to be a Russian, and it was not until I assured them of my English origin, and produced the rackums‡ furnished me at Tabreez that harmony was restored. "We have eaten dirt," said Hajee Allum, the loquacious shaver, "and your slave (addressing me) is no better than an ass. What film had covered my eyes that they could not distinguish an Ingrezé from a Russ? I have been in your country,"§ said he, "and would have plucked the beard of any dog who had

* Praise be to God!

† The turquoise mines—the most extensive and valuable in Khorassan.

‡ Passports.

§ I suspect this was a lie.

dared to tell me I knew not the Frangis of the west from those of the north. Inshallah! this mule's trick shall not happen again."

We remained but one day at *Tâsuch*, and pushed on for *Khoie*, the distance to which town was thirty-two miles. If the preceding three days' journey had been enlivened by the cheerful aspect of our resting places, the latter part of the march to *Khoie* was rendered delightful by a description of scenery to which I was hitherto a perfect stranger. Descending a rugged, but not very lofty hill, on the summit of which we had stopped soon after midnight to bait our horses, we came upon a vast plain, which was covered in almost every direction with beautiful plantations of musk and water melons, cucumbers and pumpkins. These were variegated with numerous detached residences, surrounded by orchards and well-arranged gardens. Machinery for raising water, and distributing it throughout the grounds, produced many artificial cascades and irrigating canals, which stretched their serpentine course to the base of the mountains which environed this delicious

post. "Here," thought I, "is a realization of all my dreams. Poets are not altogether the painters of fancy's visions." Though only two miles from our destination, we dismounted, for I could not resist the temptation of a short bivouac in a coppice of willows and a feast of water melons.

At mid-day we remounted, and soon came in sight of Khoie, a spacious, well-fortified town, having a deep trench around it, and draw-bridges communicating with the outer glacis. On the road we encountered parties of men in a motley costume, forming an amalgamation of the Turk and Persian, and at the same time discovered that the language of the former had superseded the general use of the latter. This combination of costume and languages is a striking and natural feature of all frontiers, and tends in no slight degree to embarrass the land traveller in his endeavours to distinguish the characteristics of neighbouring countries. The change of habit and appearance is progressive, and he is insensibly introduced to the people of one nation before he is aware of hav-

ing passed the confines of the last. A traveller by sea enjoys better opportunities of marking the difference between two portions of the globe remote from each other; for, with his mind full of the familiar objects he has just left, he is readily struck with the slightest dissimilarity of manner, dress, and language, apparent on a foreign shore.

On our arrival at the entrance gate of *Khoie*, two sentinels armed with rifles presented themselves, and asked whence we came. On being informed we were from Tabreez, they told us that our admission was interdicted, as it was notorious the plague had not quite ceased in the latter town, and the government deemed it dangerous to admit travellers coming thence. I replied, that I had letters to the Ameer-i-Nizam, or governor, and felt tolerably certain that he would not refuse us admittance on being personally assured of our freedom from all infection. The fellows refused to take my letters. I offered a bribe; they were inaccessible. I tried blustering and threats; they laughed, and menaced us with a few shots. We

then retired, and having consulted for a few seconds, drew our swords, cocked our pistols, and charged upon the sentries. But the *cordon sanitaire* had collected a tolerable crowd by their noisy exclamations, and successfully opposed our rash attempt. We were beaten back, and the gate closed upon us amidst deserved shouts of laughter and Allah-hus!

Thus repulsed, we took refuge in a small and wretched caravanserai about a mile to the west of the town, where I wrote to the Ameer-i-Nizam, and dispatched Ishmael with the rackums which I brought from Tabreez, enjoining him to enter by the western gate on foot, in order to escape observation. He returned in a few hours, bringing with him a respectable follower of the Ameer's, who had been appointed by that personage to accompany me to Bayazeed, beyond the limits of the Persian territories. I wished immediately to depart, but the charvedar, or owner of the horses, had suddenly discovered that he wanted corn for his cattle, and that it was also necessary to disappear for three days in search of it.

During the man's absence I experienced a renewal of the fever which had assailed me in the earlier part of the journey, and with the view of being cooler, and of escaping the nightly attacks of the scorpions which infested the caravanserai, I took up my abode in an orchard adjoining the premises, full of quince, apple, and plum trees, but sustained some inconvenience from the heavy dews which fell, and which completely saturated my blanket.

The fruit at Khoie, particularly the grapes, is remarkably fine, and indeed so it is throughout every part of Persia it was my fortune to visit. At Isfahan, the melons, nectarines, apricots, and mulberries, were in the highest perfection, and nothing could transcend the quality of the apples, peaches, pears, and plums of Tabreez.

We left Khoie on the 16th of September, on our way to Bayazeed. The Koords were reported to be very numerous throughout the route, having come down from their fastnesses to feed their flocks in the plains of Armenia. It was therefore deemed advisable to travel by

day, and use a little dispatch. On the first day we passed over six miles* of level ground, covered with fertile and populous villages, the cheerful aspect of which was essentially heightened by the numerous caravans from Bayazeed and Arzeroum, which wound their way along the beaten road. We likewise saw numerous detachments of gaily-dressed horsemen bearing lances, muskets, and green standards, galloping towards a spacious spot of ground, where parties were engaged in throwing the jereed, horse racing, and firing at a mark. The *tumasha*, or show, attracted my curiosity, and I joined the throng of spectators. I paid great attention to their firing, and have no hesitation in saying that, though it does not accord with the opinion expressed in Sir John Malcolm's Persian History, I consider the Persians to be exceedingly bad marksmen. In the present instance they did not hit their object once out of six shots; and, when in the south, I was *repeatedly* struck

* The only mode I was enabled to adopt for the computation of distance was by timing the pace of my horse.

with their failures. Between Chom and Bebuhan my guide pursued a wood pigeon for nearly a quarter of a mile, until the bird, being fairly tired out, alighted on the ground. The man then reined in his steed, and, bringing him to a stand still, raised his piece, took aim for two minutes at least, fired, and missed! On another occasion, three Toorkee horsemen in like manner pursued a brace of plovers, and when the birds took the ground the cavaliers all fired, and killed but one bird. Sir John Macdonald Kinnier, speaking of the bloodless campaigns of the Persians and Arabs, remarks, I think, that in a battle where ten thousand men were employed, not more than five on each side were killed; and I was surprised, when the mountaineers came down upon us, and kept up so active a fire, that they did not wound more than two or three of our party. Instances could be multiplied of their awkward use of the musket; indeed, any one who observes the manner in which they hold a firelock, when taking aim, must be satisfied that they incur great risk of missing their object; and I cannot

imagine on what ground the illustrious writer I have first alluded to has advanced an opinion so favourable to Persian skill.

Seven pharsaghs from Khoie is the little village of *Zoora-war*, where we halted for the night, but procured no better accommodation than a miserable court-yard, half filled with horses, dogs, and sheep, who proved sad enemies to our repose. The people here are decided Turks, and the country in the neighbourhood, though less picturesque than the Persian districts we had just quitted, presents stronger traces of agricultural skill and industry. Here too I saw, for the first time since I quitted India, wheeled carts in general use—a proof, as it seemed to me, of the more level quality of the soil and the more civilized habits of the husbandmen. The vehicles, it is true, were rudely constructed, consisting merely of platforms resting on an axle, to which were attached huge wheels composed of flat oaken boards bound with iron *tires*, these wheels deriving their action from the rotatory motion of the axle; but uncouth and primitive as they

were, they betokened at least a disposition on the part of the Turkish peasantry to avail themselves of so valuable an auxiliary as machinery, and to be less hostile to innovation than their neighbours.

The road to *Zoora-war* is every where covered with fragments of red marble, much of which is used by the people in the construction of their dwellings.

We mounted our horses soon after sunrise, and had proceeded for about four hours over numerous acclivities, and through a territory of undulations resembling the waves of the sea deprived of motion, when the southern peak of Ararat, (for there are two,) snow-clad and "cloud-capt," suddenly burst upon my view! At first I scarcely dared venture to believe we were so near this celebrated mount, though its situation and the distance we had journeyed from Tabreez left no doubt of the fact. I even questioned the guide, and on his answering that it was the summit of Agri-Dagh (the name by which Ararat is called by the Turks,) I involuntarily clasped my hands in ecstacy.

Who can contemplate this superb elevation without a mixture of awe and admiration, or fail to recur to the page of sacred writ illustrative of Almighty wrath and the just man's recompence? Who can gaze upon the majesty of this mount, towering above the "high places" and the hills, and turn without repining to the plains beneath, where puny man has pitched his tent and wars upon his fellow, mocking the sublimity of Nature with his paltry tyranny? I felt as if I lived in other times, and my eye eagerly but vainly sought for some traces of that "ark" which furnished a refuge and a shelter to the creatures of God's mercy when the "waters prevailed, and were increased greatly on the earth," till "all in whose nostrils was the breath of life, and all that was in the dry land, died!"

Though distant forty miles at least from the base of Ararat, the magnitude of the mountain, of about the centre of which our elevated position now placed us abreast, caused it to appear contiguous to our route, and produced that indefinable thrill and sense of humility,

which the immediate presence of any vast and overpowering object is so eminently calculated to generate. I continued to gaze until the decline of day warned us to seek a shelter, and Phœbus, casting a parting glance at the crystal summit of the noble glacier, for a moment diffused over all a soft rosy tint,* then sunk into the west and left the world in darkness.

The following day we pushed on for the village of *Karee-nee*, distant about twenty-four miles from our previous halting ground, and were greeted, when within a mile of the place, with one of the prettiest sights I ever beheld—an encampment of Turkish pilgrims. Green, sky-blue, and white tents, surmounted by gilt balls and crescents, and lined with costly carpets, formed the most striking features of this interesting scene, while in and about the camp

* This peculiar effect of the setting sun on snow-covered mountains has been observed by other travellers in other regions. In Switzerland the phenomenon is by no means rare.

"And sun-set into rose hues sees them wrought."

Byron.

walked, reclined, sat, smoked, prayed, and chatted, numberless groups of male and female Osmanlis. Hundreds of horses richly caparisoned grazed around the migratory assemblage, and piles of baggage and durable provisions, guarded by trusty menials bristling to their chins with silver hilted yataghans,* and inlaid pistols, filled up the equipage, giving to the *tout ensemble* an air of wealth, pomp, and security combined.

We found the party was on its way to Meshed, and travelled in considerable force in order to offer effectual resistance to the Turkoomanee tribes which inhabit the north and east of Persia, and which, from their hardy habits, immense numerical strength, and warlike equipment, are universally allowed to be the most formidable enemies the traveller can possibly encounter. One old Turk, whom I accosted, informed me that he had once fallen into the hands of the Turkcoomans on a former journey to Meshed, and could only obtain his release by

* A large Turkish dagger.

paying an enormous ransom of eight hundred tomauns. He had not travelled in any state, and had therefore pretended great poverty; but it did not escape the sagacity and penetration of his captors, that his hands and feet were of a delicate texture, and bore no traces of a life of hard labour. This proved a key to the discovery of his condition, and he was compelled to obtain his enlargement at the price abovementioned, or incur the risk of being used as a slave, and probably put to death.

At *Karee-nee* we were quartered in an Illyautee tent of woven black goat's hair, to the exclusion of the rightful owners, who, however, submitted to the ejectment with a tolerably good grace. This mode of procuring lodgings is common to travellers in Asiatic Turkey, when escorted by approved guides, or attars, and as it rarely happens that the parties thus deprived of their habitation go without reward, the apparent harshness of the proceeding does not much affect them. This reconciled me to what at first seemed an arbitrary usurpation.

Our journey to Bayazeed was impeded for a

day by the illness of one of the party, and we therefore resolved to make for a small encampment and group of stony dwellings inhabited by Koords which just came in sight, and request shelter for the night. The place was called *Arap-deezur*, and had evidently once been a village of some extent, for the ruined walls of substantial houses were scattered in every direction. On our approach the watch-dogs rushed from the hamlet and bayed fierce defiance, in strong contrast to the "deep-mouthed welcome" with which they greet their masters returning from a chappow.* The barking brought out several richly-dressed Koords, whom my guide recognised for members of a tribe remarkable for their thievish and bloody propensities. He rode up to them, and after a brief parley, pointed out a tent into which my servant carried my joals,† spread my carpet, and deposited saddle, bridle, and horse-cloth, whispering that things were safer within than without, and that a well-primed pistol might

* A plundering excursion. † Travelling bags.

save a world of inconvenience. The Koords grouped themselves about my tent and endeavoured to draw me into conversation. As, however, I did not understand the Turkish language, a ready excuse was furnished for my apparent reserve, and my baggage being moreover but trifling in extent, the groups were not long in dispersing.

Early the next morning we commenced ascending the mountains leading to Bayazeed. Many Koordish encampments lay scattered about in the plains beneath, and we frequently met a solitary horseman covered with his *abbah* and bearing a long bamboo lance, who eyed us askance and passed on without exchanging the usual salutation. We gave the vicinage of these savage and inhospitable mountaineers what in nautical phraseology is termed "a wide berth," and hastened on to our destination, which we reached late in the afternoon of the 18th of September.

CHAPTER XI.

Bayazeed—Gloomy reflections—Departure for Arzeroum—Ararat again—Review of Sir R. K. Porter's hypothesis regarding the Ark—The Koords—A Koordish camp—Costume—New companions—Interesting march—Singular scene—Armenian villagers—Alashké—Visit to the Pacha of Bayazeed—His history.

BAYAZEED is approached on the south-eastern side by a small chain of steep and rocky acclivities of various strata, the surfaces of which are covered with cockle shells and crystal. The defiles are deep and narrow; of such slight breadth, indeed, that the projecting crags often come in contact with a horseman's legs, and endanger either his limbs or his seat, if he is not rather cautious. The town is perfectly shut out from view until the traveller gains the summit of the *tung'h* or

strait of the pass, when he suddenly finds himself within a stone's throw of his goal. He stands, as it were, on the brink of a ravine, Bayazeed occupying the opposite edge, and he pauses involuntarily to contemplate this curious location, where the labour and the might of man, "proud man," are reduced to contemptible insignificance by their proximity to the stupendous workings of divine power. Ask me for the most striking contrast between the fruits of human effort and of Almighty toil, and I will direct you to a busy city at the base of Ararat.

Bayazeed has not an interesting or agreeable appearance. In fact, were it not for the Pacha's palace, which is covered with white plaister and rises high above the rest of the town, it would be difficult to distinguish it from the craggy elevation on the side of which it is built, for the houses are composed of the same material as the rocks, and the soil yields not an inch of verdure. To complete the sombre and cheerless hue of the prospect, the memory of the visitor insensibly recalls the cruelties and sufferings of which Bayazeed has been the theatre from

the era of its founder, Bajazet, down to the period of Mr. Jaubert's tedious captivity. That gentleman was proceeding on his way to Persia with presents from the French government to Futteh Ali Schah, when he was seized at the instance of the governing Pacha, robbed of his stores, and confined for eight months in a subterranean dungeon. He owed his liberation to the superstition of a female who succeeded to the musnud after the deaths of the perfidious Pacha and his son—events which followed one another so rapidly that she could not believe they arose from any other cause than the anger of Providence at the continued incarceration of the unhappy Frank.

Bayazeed, as I have said, produces nothing. The inhabitants are, for the most part, Armenians, who are disinclined to attempt manufactures, because Russian articles, of a better quality than they can make, and at a cheaper rate, are obtainable from Erivan, only fifty miles distant from the town. The population of Bayazeed is estimated at about three thousand souls. The houses are small, and for the most part,

inconveniently built. I lodged at an Armenian's where other English travellers had been accustomed to put up, and thence dispatched my guide with a letter of introduction to the Pacha. His highness was absent, but his brother, his *locum tenens*, opened the letter and sent me word that I should be furnished the following morning with a tatar to convey me to Arzeroum. I sent this accommodating governor a small present, and the next day was waited on by a dirty old Turk, who informed me that he was commissioned by the Aga in command, to see me safe to Alashké, where the Pacha was staying; and that if I would make haste I should probably be in time to join a body of armed Turks who were waiting at the foot of the hill on which the town stood, and who would probably prove useful allies, as the intermediate plains swarmed with Koords. We lost not a moment in saddling and loading our horses, and made all haste down to the plain, where I paused, turned and took a parting glance at the scene we were leaving behind.

The appearance of Ararat and its double

peaks from the plain on the western side, revived the feelings which the first view had inspired on our approach to Bayazeed; but these insensibly gave way to thoughts of a meaner and more mechanical kind. Sir Robert Ker Porter's learned disquisition regarding the resting place of the ark recurred to me, and I was induced to revolve it in my mind, and examine the data of his theory with some attention. The result of these cogitations was a conviction that the erudite knight, though possibly right in his *first* conjecture, had not given the subject all the attention which the consequence he assigns to it would seem to demand. This conviction has been strengthened by subsequent enquiry, and as the matter may interest those who attach importance to the minutiæ of scriptural history, I shall here transcribe Sir Robert's speculations, and subsequently offer a few arithmetical calculations and reflections in evidence of their crudity.

In page 183 of the first volume of Sir R. Porter's Travels, he says, speaking of the summits of Ararat, that "they have never been

trodden by the foot of man since the days of Noah, *if even then;* for my idea is, that *the ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either.*"

In pages 636 and 637 of the fourth volume of the same work, the author resumes the subject, and labours to establish his hypothesis.

"Our course," says he, "lay along the plain, S. 70 W., with the sublime mountain I was so soon to lose all sight of, in full magnificent view before us. Contemplation of its double summits again suggested the idea which had occurred to me when gazing on them for the first time, namely, that on the subsiding of the deluge, the ark rather sunk down gradually with the receding waters, to between the towering peaks, into the broad haven of the bosom of Ararat, than grounded on either of them. And, on looking over the sixth and eighth chapters of Genesis, the account which Moses gives appears to warrant the supposition. He describes the ark as being built with a single window, and he places it "above," or on the top.

"'A window shalt thou make to the ark,

and in a cubit shalt thou finish it, above; and the door-way of the ark shalt thou set in the side.' Chap. vi. verse 16.

" And from the succeeding observations from this window, I presume my opinion of the subsequent descent being rather from the middle of the mountain, than either of its peaked summits. The sacred historian goes on in the eighth chapter to describe that, after ' the waters assuaged, and returned from off the earth continually, the ark rested upon *the mountains* of Ararat.' Here we have mountains specified as the place of its haven, not *the mountain*, as denoting a single summit. Therefore as the holy ship could not rest on both *peaks*, the account must necessarily mean that its rest was on the *bases* of the two great uniting mountain-piles of Ararat, which plain reading would bring it into the broad mountain-valley between those immense pyramidal summits. After it has thus found a haven, the description proceeds to say that, ' the tops of the mountains were seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days that Noah opened the window of the

ark.' By the *tops* of the mountains being seen when he opens the window, (which we were before led to understand was on the roof of the ark, and therefore could command an upward view only,) the summits Noah then saw, must have been *above the ark*, from its position, there not being a possibility of his seeing beneath it. And if such be the right understanding of the text, it certainly establishes my idea, that the ark gently descended with the subsiding flood into the great mountain-vale between the two peaks, and thence," &c. &c.

Bravo, Sir Robert! pity that you could not content yourself with an *ipse dixit!* When you tell us that the ark rested on *mountains*, and not *a* mountain, we credit you, because you have the authority of Holy Writ to support the assertion; but when you proceed to show the "how" and the "why," we smile at your shallow reasoning, and reject with contempt your strange perversion of Scripture.

You tell us that "*Moses describes the ark as being built with a single window, and he places it above, or on the top.*"

Permit me to observe that Moses does no such thing. He describes the Lord as saying to Noah, "A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above," that is, *it shall be a cubit high.* You have ingeniously introduced a comma between the words "finish it," and "above," and in that little trick of punctuation lies the virtue of your position, that the window was on the *top* of the ark. I have looked into a dozen different editions of the Bible, but no where do I find that comma. Furthermore, the Paris edition translates the phrase from the original Hebrew in a way to settle all doubt about the meaning of the word "above," and leaves the situation of the window, as it ever must remain, a question of difficult decision.

"Tu donneras du jour a l'arche; tu feras *son comble d'une coudée de hauteur*, tu mettras la porte de l'arche," &c. chap. vi. vers. 16.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the window of the ark was, where you have been pleased to put it, "on the roof," by what construction of Scripture do you establish that

Noah when he looked out of the window, only saw the *tops* of mountains? According to my calculations, one hundred and twenty days had at this period elapsed from the commencement of the assuaging of the waters, and as only sixty-five days remained for the entire drying of the earth, it is clear that the depth of the flood had decreased two-thirds when Noah opened the window, so that at the time of this event, (allowing Ararat to be, as generally computed, 9,600 feet above the level of the sea,) 6,200 feet below the summit were visible to the patriarch, and consequently a vast expanse of neighbouring plains and elevations.

One more observation on your torture of Scripture. It is *not* said that Noah saw the "tops of mountains" at all. The passage you refer to expressly states that after a given time these "tops" *were seen*, and forty days *after that*, Noah opened the window for the first time.

I repeat, that it is difficult to deny, on the face of the Bible, that the ark rested on *mountains* instead of a single peak, though common belief

favours the last supposition; but I suspect it will be very apparent from what I have ventured to submit that you have made a clumsy business of your demonstration. There is a slight difference between assertion and proof, and many a good cause has ere now been spoiled by an awkward lawyer.

The party I now joined consisted of ten or twelve Turks, attired in large brown or green jackets, short loose trowsers, yellow boots, huge turbans and tabooshes, or red flowing scull caps. They were armed with swords, rifles, and pistols, and assumed an air of confidence that was perfectly refreshing. One of them, a large swarthy man of about fifty years of age, accosted me, and said that it should be his especial care to watch over my safety, and render the journey agreeable, for that he knew in doing so he should consult the wishes of Balool, the Pacha of Bayazeed, in whose service he was an humble aga. He then offered me his chibouk or long pipe, his horse, his arms—an example of polite attention which two or three others of the party were eager to follow. I like

the frank courtesy of the Turk; he does not deal in as much hyperbole and strained compliment as his eastern neighbour, the Persian, but is infinitely more sincere and often quite disinterested.

We commenced our journey with a hearty gallop across the plain at the base of Ararat, and soon reached an eminence which commanded an extensive view of a succession of mountain, valley, and stream, throughout and about which the black tents and cattle of the Koords were scattered.

It was here that the only dangerous part of the route from Tabreez to Trebisond might be said to lie. The Koords, the reputed descendants of the tribes that harassed the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, and the march of the gallant Greeks who followed Alexander, (or Iskunder, as he is termed throughout the East,) are perhaps the most extensive and powerful of the various nomade clans which are found between Mount Taurus and the Indus. They infest the whole of Asiatic Turkey, the north and north-west of Persia,

and even stretch their wanderings to the north-east of the latter kingdom, as far as the southern provinces of Georgia and the shores of the Caspian. They every where differ in costume and equipment, but all writers concur in assigning to them the most cruel and bloody propensities—strong religious prejudices—an aptness for warlike pursuits—a spirit of inveterate and vindictive enmity, of ardent and devoted friendship. They are also allowed to be the most rigid observers of the rights of hospitality, and extraordinarily sincere in their professions. In points of faith, they differ in different districts. The Koords who inhabit the mountains of Sindjar, between Mousul and Merdin, are reputed believers in the influence of the evil one, and seek to propitiate him by deeds of blood. They hold it a virtue to destroy Christian, Jew, or Turk, and imagine that slaughter of this kind has a tendency to mitigate any domestic calamities they (the Koords or Yezedees, as they are called,) may at the moment be suffering under. Some of the Koords are Sheahs, or followers of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet;

many, particularly in the province of Sulimaniah, are Soonies, orthodox Moslems; and not a few are Nestorian Christians.

When out *chappowing*, the Koords lay aside all merciful scruples, and, if they encounter a caravan, adopt the safe principle of killing first, and robbing afterwards. In this they offer a barbarous contrast to the tribes of Buctiari and Fileah, who rarely resort to bloodshed unless their views of plunder are resisted and obstructed.

In about four hours from the time of leaving Bayazeed, we came up to a cluster of tents, said to be tenanted by a powerful chieftain and his immediate suite, which formed the nucleus of a spacious camp in the environs. We rode to the tent of the chieftain, and were cordially invited in. Several men came out, and held our horses while we dismounted; others prepared pipes and coffee, and spread carpets for our accommodation. One stout fellow ran off to the plain, and quickly returned, bearing a lusty wether, which in a few minutes was flayed, cleaned, and placed on a spit above a blazing

pile of sticks, shrubbery, and turf. A separate tent was appropriated to my use, on account, I suppose, of my *caste*, and there a bronze and ruby-coloured damsel prepared a felt *numud** for me, and brought coffee in the Turkish fashion, without milk or sugar, in small china cups reposing in larger vessels of silver filagree work. This was the first time since leaving the Chabean territory that I experienced this latter act of courtesy. Though such close neighbours, and resembling each other in so many of the luxuries and ceremonies of Oriental life, the Persian, Arab, and Turk, differ materially in the use of its comforts and necessaries, but in none more than in the article of coffee. The moment a stranger enters the tent of the wildest Arab, or the hut of the poorest Osmanli, coffee and the chibouk are offered him; yet the instant he has crossed the frontier, and finds himself in Persia, he detects a change in the forms of hospitality, and forgets the black and bitter stomachic in the refreshing draught of

* A carpet.

sherbet, and the soothing qualities of the kaleeoun.

The Koords, in whose habitations we were now received, appeared to be a hardy, athletic race of men, with any thing, however, but handsome features. Their eyes were small and lustreless, their noses of an extravagant aquiline, while their chins, shaven close, (at least amongst the young men,*) appeared to *retreat*, and to give to the profile what we should term a "sawny" or simple aspect. The women did not look like the same race, excepting in the brawny and muscular strength of their limbs, and the activity of their movements. They had large and languishing eyes, rosy cheeks, and long black hair, which was either plaited like that of German children and Tyrolean peasantry, or fell in wild disorder about their shoulders. The costume of the men consisted, for the most part, of a short brown cloth jacket, loose trowsers, which were bound below the knee, and white cotton leggings or stockings

* The old ones wore thick beards.

without feet. These latter limbs were invested with shoes of coarse leather, felt, or cloth, and kept up by bandages of tape, which wound about the leg as high as the calf. On their heads was a camel felt cap, similar to those worn by the Persian peasantry, around which was tied a cotton handkerchief of red, blue, or some other gay colour. Over the whole person they wear an abbali of white woollen with black stripes, and present altogether a very picturesque appearance.

A great many horses were standing about the tents on our arrival, with their reins attached to lances driven like stakes into the ground. All looked as if the party was bent on a *chappow*, and I did not doubt that as soon as we should have left the camp we should be plundered by the very men of whose hospitality we were now partaking—a kind of payment for temporary entertainment these nomade tribes are very much accustomed to enforce.

We remained three hours at the Koordish camp, feasting and reposing. Late in the afternoon the aga, whose civility I have before

noticed, entered my tent, accompanied by the chief, and inquired through my servant if I had been entertained to my satisfaction. He then informed me that as much danger might be incurred from our taking the road alone, seeing that numerous parties of Koords were scouring the country for the sake of plunder, it would be advisable to acquiesce in a proposition of the chief's, to the effect that we should join him and a large body from his clan in a journey to Alashké, (a little out of our direct route,) where Balool Pacha was residing, and whence I could obtain further protection to Arzeroum. The only condition attached to my compliance was the temporary adoption of the costume of the party, in order to escape notice on the road. I did not at first relish the scheme, apprehensive that it involved a plan for robbing me of the little I possessed. A moment's reflection, however, suggested that the same spirit which influenced these tribes in holding my person and property sacred, when their guest, would dictate a like regard to my safety when their *compagnon de voyage*, and I accordingly com-

plied. The dress was brought me, and I had no sooner equipped myself and sprang on my horse, than I felt myself "every inch a Koord." I brandished my lance, put my horse to a hard gallop, and made for the high road, followed by several of the party, shouting and laughing with delight at the spirit with which I entered into their views.

In a few minutes the whole camp was denuded of its male inhabitants, and the cavalcade put into motion. I fell into the rear as soon as it came up with me, but the chief, a handsome young man dressed in a sky-blue cloth abbah, who was riding in front, called me to his side, and addressing many fine compliments to my horsemanship, asked my opinion as to the Koordish mode of making war, and dwelt on the comparative merits of disciplined and undisciplined troops, giving a preference to the former!

In the course of an hour we entered a narrow mountain pass, and wound our way through a fertile dell, rich in low shrubbery and wild flowers, but gloomy and cold from the im-

mense altitude of the mountains which hang about it, excluding all light and warmth. A deep silence pervaded the whole troop as it entered this defile; nothing could be heard but the tramp of the horses' feet, and an occasional hinneying and neighing, as if the animals partook of the peculiar sensations the solitude and darkness were so well calculated to inspire. I dropped in the rear to indulge in my emotions without interruption, and felt the full force of Godwin's powerful description. "Such solitude, amidst the miracles of nature, and far remote from the vestiges of human industry and skill, produces an indescribable effect upon the spectator. It composes the soul to solemnity, and raises the thoughts to all that is majestic and invisible. . . . The traveller stands in the midst of all that is illimitable, and all that is eternal—the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. He is united to the great whole, the vast congregation of all that is beautiful or astonishing, of all that spreads itself and is alive—a scene to which speech and articulate sound appear to be a pro-

fanation. One hour of this elevation and delight, seems to be equivalent to ages of the ordinary life of mortals."

The first night of the march we halted at the miserable Armenian village of *Daidūn*. These villages have often been described, but travellers do not agree as to the mode in which they are built. Some writers affirm that they are subterranean, advantage being taken of certain hillocks to dig into their sides, and line a portion of the excavation with stones and rough marble, an aperture being made above to admit light and air. Others pretend that the houses have been erected in the usual primitive style of the poor Turks and Armenians, and subsequently covered with earth as a security from the summer sun and the winter snows, which here prevail at their respective seasons in all their fierceness and intensity. I confess that I incline to the latter theory, and consider it favoured by the slightness of the earthly covering. It would have been impossible to penetrate so far into any mounds or hillocks, and dig so near the surface, without the certainty of the upper por-

tions falling in and burying the miners. It is true, there are many gentle eminences in the vicinage of these colonies, to which the latter, with their verdant coating,* bear a striking resemblance; and this perhaps has led to the deduction that they were originally similar mounds. Probably the site was chosen to mislead the banditti of the neighbouring fastnesses, who would thus have but little clue to the residence of the peaceful cultivators, since they bore no affinity to other human habitations. At any rate there is but small reason for believing that the inference thence drawn, that they are subterranean excavations, is correct.

I had a dwelling to myself, the Koords occupying other houses. My servant Ishmael, a perfect disciple of Louis Eustache Udé, prepared me a famous pilau for supper, which, with a bottle of Georgian wine, and the excite-

* The coating of earth is generally covered with grass and wild flowers, in common with the rest of the ground. In the drawings attached to the valuable volumes of Travels by Sir W. Ouseley, a very accurate sketch is given of these rude domiciles.

ment of the day, disposed me to more rest than the eternal crying of an infant under the same roof, and a host of fleas would permit me to enjoy.

September 21st.—Off with the lark, accompanied by new friends the Koords, who appeared in the highest spirits. Anxious to display their dexterity and beguile the hours of their chieftain, they would often gallop away from the main body in twos and threes, and charge one another with the butt of a javelin or a lance; sometimes they would run races, and at others compete in the art of stopping short their horses when at the top of their speed. The exhibition of this latter branch of equitation was attended with a little cruelty, for the instantaneous check very frequently brought the horses to the ground, and injured their limbs. About midday, we came to a spacious plain covered with rich grass and jungle, and intersected by a broad and rapid stream. Here we paused, refreshed our horses, and then struck into a beaten path along the edge of a hill skirting the eastern side of the plain.

As the horse I bestrode was less powerful than those of my fellow travellers, and we had now ridden upwards of forty miles, I was lingering a considerable distance in the rear, when the old Turk who was sent to escort me at Bayazeed came galloping from the party, and implored me with a pale face and trembling accents, to urge my horse on instantly, or I should probably be cut off by a body of Koordish brigands, who were at that moment engaged in plundering a caravan a few hundred yards only below the spot where we then stood.

The advice was earnestly offered, and therefore readily taken. I spurred on my jaded beast, and just as we turned a large stony projection, came in sight of the conflict. In one direction might be seen a large body of horsemen watching the proceedings of their fellow-bandits, and guarding the booty which had already been captured; in another, several Koords engaged hand to hand with the stoutest of the cafilah or caravan party: here lay a wounded traveller, writhing in agony, and calling on Mahomet for succour—there a bleeding

Koord, cursing his destiny: now might be seen a horse without a rider, wildly scouring the plain—and there a brigand, bearing a load of plunder on his shoulders.

We continued to watch the scene, without, however, altering our course, until the Agha, who had proffered his services to me, and who evidently held some place of trust in the pachalic of Bayazeed, dashed down into the valley accompanied by a Koord, in order to put an end to the sanguinary contest by the terror of his presence.

The effect of this movement was exceedingly singular. I had turned away my eyes but for an instant from the scene of slaughter, and on again directing them to that quarter, found every vestige of the plundering horde had disappeared. Men and horses had vanished, as if by magic, "into thin air;" and the Agha, his companion, and the pillaged party, remained masters of the ground. I looked about in every direction for the fugitives, but in vain, and was getting somewhat sceptical as to the evidence of my senses, when Suliman, the old Turk, com-

municated by signs that the horsemen, seeing the Agha and knowing his authority, had suddenly dismounted, and rapidly retreated into the forest of shrubbery skirting the before-mentioned stream.

The incident was an interesting commentary on the vast power of Balool Pacha, who governs throughout this district, and explained the secret of my own security. Without possessing a force in any degree equalling the extent of the tribes, the Pacha has acquired so tremendous an ascendancy, that they dread the slightest expression of his displeasure, and hold themselves entirely at his disposal. Even now, it appeared, that the very chief whose cortége I had joined was proceeding to render voluntary homage to the potent ruler.

"What could it be that thus their faith could bind?
The power of thought—the magic of the mind—
Linked with success—assumed, and kept with skill—
That moulds another's weakness to its will."

After marching twelve pharsaghs, or nearly fifty English miles, we stopped for the night at

the hamlet of *Chamourlee*. Old Suliman invariably preceded us to beat up for quarters for myself and servant, and was generally successful. Here, however, he met with a repulse. The Armenian women of the manzil* assembled in a crowd, and in piercing screams called heaven and earth to witness that their granaries, their cupboards, bags, and boxes, were all empty; they had not even bread for themselves. On coming up to the scene of clamour, I endeavoured to prevail on the women to moderate their fury, and rummage their stores on a Frangi's behalf, at least. But they were deaf to all persuasion, and we should probably have gone supperless to bed, had not the Agha unexpectedly made his appearance, and bestowed so hearty a horse-whipping on the most turbulent matron, that, in a few minutes, bread, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and *yourt*,† were routed out of diverse recesses. This was pretty well after the powers had been invoked to prove the

* Village,—location.

† The Turkish name for sour curds, which the Persians call *mās*, the Indians *d'hye*, and the Arabs *roba*.

poverty of the village; but it was to me rather humiliating to find the professors of Christianity deficient in the virtue of hospitality amongst a people who esteem it the first of duties. Perhaps, however, the poor wretches are not to be blamed for their disinclination to expose their stores intended for domestic consumption. They suffer so much from the *excursions* of their Koordish neighbours, that it is almost a duty to themselves and families to affect at all times the total want of whatever might prove a prize to the depredators, lest they might on any occasion be taken by surprise.

September 22nd.—"The dawn was overcast, the morning lowered, and heavily in clouds came on the day." Suliman, nevertheless, summoned me at an early hour to load and mount. We rode through a pelting rain, accompanied by peals of thunder and vivid flashes of lightning, for about sixteen miles, halting once at the village of *Keshishkoie*, to dry our abbahs over the embers of a cottage fire. The fires made use of by the Armenian ryots, or husbandmen, who inhabit the greater part of the villages,

are deposited in a hollow well or circular pit, three feet deep, dug in the centre of the chief (sometimes the only) apartment. Within this pit, over burning logs or dried ordure, the pot is placed to boil the family *chillaw*,* or mess of milk; while at night the inmates lie huddled together with their feet at the edge of the hollow, imbibing the genial warmth of the expiring embers. The completion of the sixteenth mile brought us within sight of *Alashké*, a small town built in the usual way, on two sides of a rugged and remarkably steep rock, the apex of which is crowned by a small but strong fortress. The Turks of Asia Minor have a habit of piling, in pyramidal forms, masses of cattle ordure and turf, which supply the absence of wood fuel during the severe winters of these latitudes. These piles or stacks have the appearance, at a distance, of conical-shaped huts or houses, and give to each town or village about which they are scattered an air of greater extent and importance than a nearer

* Plain boiled rice.

approach shows them to possess. I was deceived by them with respect to Alashké, which at first view had an imposing effect.

When within a quarter of a mile of our destination, the Koords "extended themselves," and covering by their "open order," as a soldier would express it, a large extent of ground, recommenced sham combats, races, feats of horsemanship, jereed hurling, and all those rude but not inelegant evolutions for which these wild soldiers are celebrated. Half a dozen of the most gaily dressed sped onward to the fortress, discharging their pistols in the air, and shouting bismillahs, to warn the inhabitants of the approach of visitors.

We entered the town in the afternoon, and Ishmael at once led me to the khan or caravanserai, where, separated from my horses only by a railing, enclosing a narrow space raised two feet above the floor,* I remained, against my will, for three days.

* This is a common feature in the caravanserais in this part of Asiatic Turkey.

The following morning I prepared to wait on the Pacha and pay my respects. I was not a little curious to see a man who, by the mere force of character alone, is enabled to hold in subjection so large and untameable a body as the tribes inhabiting his pachalic. Knowing the reverence paid by all warlike savages to individuals possessing, in a supereminent degree, the hardier virtues, and a frame adapted to athletic pursuits, I anticipated in Balool a tall, muscular personage, of a fierce aspect and a commanding presence. My surprise was therefore great to find him of a totally different style.

The court-yard of the palace was filled by my recent fellow-travellers, who exhibited a good deal of rude cordiality in their greeting. Passing through this yard and a small ante-chamber, I prepared to pull off my boots according to the custom of the country, before I ventured into the presence of the Pacha, but was instantly summoned by a voice from within to enter without observing the usual ceremony. The operation, however, was soon performed,

and in another minute I was ushered into a spacious but ill-lighted apartment, at the upper end of which the Pacha was seated. His highness rose on my entrance, and called out, "Welcome, welcome! come up here; have you had a pleasant journey?—are you refreshed?—Sit down—sit down;"—and warmly shaking my hand, Balool placed me by his side. Our conversation related to the state of the country, the terms of the treaty between Turkey and Russia, Abbas Meerza's expedition to Kerman, and the conflagration at Constantinople. The Pacha was all kindness, intelligence, and animation. He expressed himself very anxious to provide for my safe conduct to Arzeroum, and begged I would not depart until he had named some confidential person as my guide, as the Agha was here to quit me. Half an hour was passed in a mutual exchange of civil expressions, and I then took my leave.

Balool Pacha is a young man of slender make, and of middle stature. He is apparently not more than thirty years of age, but carries an "old head upon his young shoulders." The

expression of his countenance is acute yet prepossessing; for while his eye twinkles with vivacity and intelligence, his mouth is dressed in good-natured smiles. He wore, during my visit, a tunic of striped green silk, crimson cloth trowsers, and yellow boots, together with an ample scarlet barounee, and gold embroidered collar.

Leaving the fortress—an operation which cost me two or three tomauns in fees to coffee-bearers, chaoushes, and durwans—I returned to my stabular* residence, and made some inquiries as to the cause of the Pacha's extraordinary sway over the Koords.

It seems that on mounting the musnud, he found the Koordish hordes in a state of inveterate hostility to the public peace. Whole villages had been depopulated by their forays and incursions, and the caravan road was completely deserted. Commerce was at a stand-still, and cultivation totally neglected. It was late in the winter when Balool assumed the

* Table---tabular; stable---stabular.

reins of government, and as his youth had been distinguished by numerous acts of gallantry and daring, the inhabitants of the pachalick did not doubt but that in his accession they should find a relief from the persecution of the tribes. They were just in their calculations. No sooner had the snows melted, and the plains offered pasturage to the Koordish flocks and herds, than Balool, at the head of a well-organized force, blocked up the various passes that led to their fastnesses and winter retreats, and opposed the descent of his country's foes. These latter, unprepared for such a barrier to their annual visit, came down as usual in small parties, with their families, tents, baggage, sheep, and cattle, and were immediately captured or cut off by the Turkish troops as they successively approached the judicious positions of the latter. Those who escaped hastened back to communicate the doleful tidings to the parties in the rear, who accordingly mustered in great force, and descended *en masse*, vowing direful vengeance upon the author of their disgrace. Balool,

fully anticipating this movement, had in the interval sought and obtained the support of the governor of Khoie, and the Pachas of Van, Diarbekir, and Arzeroum, and was accordingly prepared with some thousand spahis, and a small park of artillery, to contest pre-eminence in his pachalic with the lawless hordes of Armenia. The struggle was fierce and bloody. Balool is reported to have "enacted more wonders than a man," and his example was nobly followed by his colleagues and countrymen. The result was the total defeat and subjugation of the Koords, who, having been deprived at the outset of their *matériel* of commerce, sustenance, and habitation, *i. e.* their flocks whence they derived milk, meat, and wool, and their tents which gave them covering, were compelled to submit quietly, and seek temporary subsistence at the hands of their magnanimous conqueror.

From that moment comparative peace and security reigned throughout the pachalic. It is true that the predatory habits of the Koords

remain unchanged, of which an instance is related a few pages back, but their incursions and chappows are less frequent, and person and property guaranteed by the Pacha are invariably respected.

CHAPTER XII.

Journey to Arzeroum---Dalla-Baba---Balléchoie---Hassan-Caleh---Mineral spring---Arzeroum---Turkish disciplined forces---Climate, population, productions of Arzeroum---Baiboot---Journey to Trebisond---Scenery ---Trebisond.

THOUGH the Pacha promised an immediate attention to my wishes in regard to a safe conduct to Arzeroum, three days elapsed before any person, armed with the necessary powers, made his appearance. I sent frequent messages to his highness, and was entertained with promises and civil replies. At length I went myself to the door of the serai, or palace, and sent in word that I was about to depart alone; and that on Balool's head all the danger I might incur should lie. This quickly produced an arrangement, and in an hour afterwards I left

Alashké's heights behind me, accompanied by old Suliman, and a tatar, or courier, wearing the usual black head-gear, surmounted by a slight orange-colored cloth crown.

We did not travel more than six hours the first day, as a hard frost set in with the decline of the sun, and suggested the prudence of seeking shelter for the night. Besides, I had experienced a fall from my horse in endeavouring to clear a stream, and was too much bruised to ride any further with comfort. We pulled up at the village of *Churtalloo*, and were accommodated in a small apartment in company with two or three Turks, their wives and children, a calf, two dogs, and a favourite lamb!

September 27.—Our journey this morning brought us to the cheerful village of *Dalla-Baba*, and we got breakfast at an Armenian carpenter's. There was a great deal of wood and wood-work in his sheds, which he informed me were brought from a thicket distant forty miles, and he was employed in making cart-wheels, building rafters, doors, and milk-pails. Two Koords rode up soon after our arrival, and

addressing me, insolently demanded two *bajaucklés* (ducats) for having escorted me safely from Bayazeed! I answered the modest request by striking one in the face, and drawing my sword upon the other, which had the effect of inducing them to withdraw without further insisting on the claim. *Dalla-Baba* forms the boundary of the Koordish haunts to the north of Armenia. Our afternoon journey lay for twenty miles through a comparatively cheerful country, abounding with marks of industry. The different descriptions of grain which are grown on the sides of the vast congregation of hills in this neighbourhood, lent to the whole scene an agreeable variety of colour, which proved an acceptable relief to the eye after so many weeks of a pilgrimage through parched and yellow soil. Hawks and magpies flourish in this district.

We slept at *Balléchoie*, and pursued an agreeable route at sun-rise through plains where the plough had been extensively at work, and where innumerable ruts indicated the constant occupation of carts in agricultural service.

Eight miles beyond *Balléchoie* we crossed the Arras or Araxes by a noble bridge of seven arches, one only, which stretches to the northern bank, exhibiting any symptoms of decay. The bridge was composed of excellent solid masonry, the whole coated with the beautiful brick work so much in use in Persia and Turkish Arabia. Ten miles further brought us to *Hassan-Caleh*, a fortified town, having a citadel at the summit of a rock which overlooks the town on the south side. Parallel with the town runs a rivulet bearing the same name, and nearly opposite the citadel, on the west bank of the stream, is a circular stone building, enclosing a hot mineral spring, in which about twenty Turks were bathing. An outlet near the surface of the bath carries the superfluous waters into the rivulet; but in its course it colours all the earth and stones which it crosses, an orange red.

We halted under the shade of the building, and while breakfasting on milk, honey and new bread, were surprised by the spectacle of the Pacha of *Hassan Caleh* marching out with

three hundred followers, preceded by the green standard of the prophet, on his journey to Van, in order to assist in quelling the refractory spirit of the Pacha of that town which had lately been filling the Sultaun's breast with uneasiness. A Turkish cavalcade has been described *ad nauseam*; my readers can therefore dispense with any infliction from my pen.

After breakfast we remounted, and cantering twenty miles, reached Arzeroum late in the afternoon, fatigued and indisposed. The country between *Hassan Caleh* and *Arzeroum* is extensively tilled and cultivated, and there are four springs of excellent water in the highway which some former government has rendered available to the traveller by the construction of fountains.

On my arrival at Arzeroum, I was most kindly received by Mr. Zohrab, the agent to the consul at Trebisond, and invited by him to make his house my home during my stay in the town.

The first view of Arzeroum, from the south-

eastern side, is any thing but cheering to the way-worn traveller. A large assemblage of rude and irregular tombstones, on which are generally perched a colony of rooks and crows, and a few falcons, point out the site of the town, which covers one side of a hill. A crowd of minarets are the next objects indicative of a near approach to the town, and a few seconds more bring the traveller to the brow of the hill, and within a few yards of the principal gate.

Arzeroum has long held an important place in Turkish history, and has become still more generally known since Field Marshal Paskevitch d'Erivanski invaded the Ottoman territories and made that town his head quarters. Its population at present may amount to about 70,000 persons, including Turks and Armenians.* Two thousand of these are troops disciplined after the European mode, and are formed into two regiments commanded by the Miri Alai. I

* It is rather difficult at all times to form a correct estimate of the population of Asiatic towns, as no returns are kept of the births and deaths; but I believe the amount I have given to be nearly correct, if we may cal-

saw a great number of them about the streets during my stay, and must confess that their appearance is not calculated to go a great way towards reconciling the Turks to this innovation on the Sultaun's part. They wear blue jackets and blue cloth trowsers, and have nothing more than the simple red cloth tarboosh on their heads, which is but a sad exchange indeed for the gaudy tunic, the ample folds of the barounee, and the rich turban. They carry muskets, and bear small red cloth crosses, or other badges, on their breasts, as distinctions of rank or merit. The officers wear epaulettes, swords, and forage caps with peaks.

Divested of his former costume, the Turk cuts but a poor figure after the Persian, and I suspect that it will take many successful campaigns to prove to the bigoted portion of the

culate four and a half persons to a family. The number of houses is as follows:—

Turkish	11,733
Rayahs, Armenians, &c. .	4000
Catholics	645

In addition to these there are thirteen mosques, and no less than thirty-six khans.

empire, that any advantage has been gained by introducing a system of warfare, which, while it increases the efficiency of an army, detracts from its ancient splendour of appearance.

The houses in Arzeroum are, for the most part, one story high, and bear no inconsiderable resemblance in their enclosed balconies and projecting windows to some of the oldest houses in English country towns. The roofs, however, are flat. A great part of the town is on a sad state of ruin, for when the Armenians quitted it in vast numbers, on its evacuation by the Russians, the Turks sequestered the houses of the former, contrary to the stipulations in the treaty of peace with Russia, and they are now fast going to decay.

Arzeroum is governed by a Seraskier, who is at the same time a Pacha of three tails, and exercises a controul over sixty districts containing no less than three thousand villages.* His highness is stated to be an extremely into-

* Nine Kassabas acknowledge the sway of this personage, viz. Baiboot, Erzinghian, Kumah, Tortoom, Tergian, Passen, Hassan Caleh, Keghe, and Azashkeirt.

lerant, bigotted person; but he is not a whit worse in this respect than the Turkish inhabitants of the town.

The climate of Arzeroum is said to be extremely salubrious. It stands five thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea by barometrical observation, yet its neighbourhood is far from fertile, and the adjoining scenery anything but picturesque. The only trees in the gardens of Arzeroum are a few poplars and indifferent fruits. Vegetables, such as turnips, spinach, beet-root, carrots, cucumbers, pumpkins, Jerusalem artichokes, and cabbages, are tolerably plentiful; but the districts yield little else than grain and barley. The mutton, fowls, and geese of Arzeroum are very good and cheap; but the beef is dear and inferior.

The revenues of the Pachalic consist of a seventh of the produce of the land, and an excise on import goods called *ihtissab*, amounting to one para on every piastre, or two and a half per cent. *ad valorem*. A duty of five per cent.

on the value of imports, is likewise levied. Of the amount of the revenue thus raised it is difficult to form any correct idea, for the Seraskier, like other Pachas, cares not to render up a more minute account of his stewardship to the Sultaun than consists with his avarice or love of personal display.

The commerce of Arzeroum is a subject of some importance to British interests at the present moment, and I have therefore devoted a separate chapter to its consideration.

I remained at Arzeroum under Mr. Zohrab's hospitable roof for four or five days, and then hired four yaboos, or small Turkish chuppa horses, and took my departure for Trebisond.

"A change came o'er the colour of my journey." Perfect security reigned throughout the interval between Trebisond and Arzeroum, and barrenness was succeeded by abundant vegetation. Hitherto we had ascended the high places of the earth: we were now to trace a downward course to the shores of the Euxine.

The scenery between Arzeroum and *Gosher-Bowa* (a small village having a wretched caravanserai for the accommodation of travellers) is of a monotonous and uninteresting character; but as the traveller advances, his curiosity is awakened by much that is singular and beautiful. After journeying fifty miles he reaches the top of a mountain which forms one of a series of vast elevations, that by their particular arrangement resemble a huge punch-bowl. The bosom of this gulf is filled with minor volcanic mounds, the bases of which are decorated with a profusion of bush, bearing a small red berry, whose growth is alternately promoted and impeded by the eruptions of lava that occasionally occur. Descending on the outer side of this eminence, the eye is greeted with a heavenly landscape,—a chaos of hill and dale richly wooded, and abundantly watered. The caravan road has become by the frequent intercourse ever attendant on peace and security, smooth and level. Its sides are lined with wild fruit trees, at the foot of which, and on the sides of the hills, lie fragments of the beautiful and many-co-

loured marble, of which the ancients made so much use in the erection of the temples and palaces spread through Asia Minor.* Ever and anon the chattering magpie, and the crowing partridge, fearless of pointer and percussion, cross the pilgrim's path, and the bubbling of a spring issuing from a small craggy projection, invites him to drop his rein, and allow his steed to bathe his nostrils in the pellucid fountain. As there are no villages between *Gosher-Bowa* and Baiboot, a distance of forty-five miles, we halted for the night about half way through the delicious garden I have attempted to describe, and bivouacked in a small wood, intersected by a narrow brook. The night was cold, and though we had only reached the 5th of October, the surface of every streamlet was frozen before morning's dawn.

On the 6th of October we got to Baiboot, and here again my frock and forage cap proved enemies to my reception and entertainment. I met the Pacha and his escort as I reached the suburbs of the town; but he neither returned

* See Macdonald Kinnier and Martin Leake.

my salutation, nor stopped to inquire whence I came or whither I was going. At the khan, a comfortable new building in the heart of the city, the host was insolent, and, in the bazaars, fowls and fruit were denied me at any price. And why?—because, thought the people, I was a Russian and their bitterest enemy. Was not each street strewed with cannon-balls?—each ruined house—each crowded cemetery—each battered battlement, a mark of the ravages of the northern foe? Could it be expected that the son deploring the parent who fell by a Russian bayonet, or the father weeping the destruction of his house and of his hopes, could stretch forth the hand of welcome to the devastating European, and cheerfully perform for such a one the rites of hospitality? The Ottoman empire may be a blotch, a wart on the face of this fair globe; the Mahomedan faith may be an offence to the Majesty of Heaven, and its operation a scourge to millions; but can their destruction only be achieved by fire and sword? Are cruelties and unnecessary additions to the unavoidable ravages of war the only means the

enlightened of Christendom can employ to extend the empire of reason, and effect the conversion of the infidel? I do not speak in the spirit of a party politician, or pretend to understand the merits of the crusade against Turkey, which followed the "untoward event" at Navarino; but surely it may be permitted to those whose hearts are not entirely deaf to the suggestions of humanity, to exclaim against the barbarities perpetrated by the invaders of Asiatic Turkey? Turkish dispatches do not find their way into European journals, and the "Journal de St. Petersburgh," and "Gazette de Moscow" are *somewhat partial* in their account of military operation; but materials for history still exist in the ruins of towns, and depopulation of districts, and they tell a tale no sophistry can refute.

Ishmael zealously defended me from the charge of being a Russian, and the sight of a well-filled purse removed whatever scepticism remained after his declaration. We remained a night at Baiboot, and then sped on to Trebisond, stopping only at the miserable hamlets of

Bullachor, *Sophie*, and *Vesli*. The former had not more than twenty houses standing, the rest were a pile of rubbish and stones; while other parts of the village were decorated with pyramids of Russian cannon-balls, and empty bomb-shells. *Sophie* and *Vesli* stand in the heart of a beautiful chain of hills, covered with the pine, the oak, and numerous other rich forest trees. Great quantities of rain fell during our march, and the clouds hung so low, that we were frequently for more than an hour enveloped in dense mist when at a mountain's top, and could scarcely avoid losing our way. Emerging from our cloudy enclosure, we found ourselves surrounded by apparently endless forests of variegated foliage. It was late in the autumn, and the annuals had "fall'n into the sear and yellow leaf," exhibiting a beautiful contrast to the eternal freshness of the pine. Beyond *Vesli* there was not a single village, or rather the mountains became one vast location. In every direction, a neatly built cottage, with a red roof, peeped out of a cluster of fruit trees, and at the edge of the path were cleanly huts, at the door

of which the owners exposed pears, cheese, grapes, and bread for the refreshment of the passenger, at a trifling cost. Below meandered a wide and deep rivulet, and browsing on the edge of divers eminences were numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of small cattle. Nothing was wanting but the *Rans des Vaches* to complete the belief that we were in Switzerland.

Our last day's journey was long and fatiguing, owing to frequent heavy falls of rain which saturated our clothes and bags, and rendered the ground heavy. I had inquired of about a dozen passengers at different intervals, how far we were from Trebisond, and was nearly sinking with exhaustion and vexation at the contradictory replies, when the Euxine suddenly came in view.

Xenophon has described the emotions of his Greeks at the sight of this limit to their harassed retreat: I cannot describe what mine were, when the blue expanse which terminated my Asiatic pilgrimage, met my wearied eye.

Trebisond, both from the point whence I

first beheld it, and from the sea, is exceedingly picturesque and cheerful. It possesses not less than thirty mosques, and seventeen Greek, Armenian, and Catholic churches, whose minarets and steeples, rising above the red roofs of five thousand houses, and associated with the tall cypress, give to the *tout ensemble* a pleasing and imposing effect.

The population of Trebisond, consisting of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Italians, &c. amounts to upwards of twenty-seven thousand souls. It is governed by Osman Pacha, Seraskier and Pacha of three tails, who is as rational and moderate a person as a Turkish governor can be expected to be.

The European society of the town is confined to the consular agents of England, France, and Austria, and their assistants.

At the house of Mr. James Brant, the British consul, I met with a cordial and most kind reception, and waited there four days until the destination of the brig Elizabeth, the only vessel then lying in the roadstead, could be determined. The want of a cargo

at length induced the captain to resolve on proceeding to Odessa, and as I saw no other way of getting expeditiously to England, I abandoned my intention of visiting Constantinople, and contracted for a passage across the Black Sea.

APPENDIX.

A.—MUSCAT.

This port in the Arabian Sea is the residence and principal seat of government of Seid Syud, a powerful prince, who rules over a considerable portion of the coast of Arabia and Abyssinia, and who exercises considerable sway in the neighbouring seas, though the medium of a comparatively large navy and skilful officers. The town of Muscat is situated in the heart of a valley, formed by the towering vicinage of dark barren rocks, open only to the sea; which, being likewise partially surrounded by lofty rocks, finds but just sufficient ingress to form a commodious cove. This cove furnishes excellent protection to vessels of all dimensions from the effects of the furious *shumauls*, or north-westers, which blow at intervals throughout the year, especially between the months of March and September.

The streets of Muscat are exceedingly narrow, and the houses about three hundred in number. They are extremely dirty, and indifferently built; but towards the sea face, and in occasional open spaces, great attention is paid to external architecture, thus giving to the town, on a first view, a cheerful and cleanly aspect. On the summit of the rocks on the eastern and western sides of the cove are two fortresses, built, like the houses, of sun and furnace dried bricks, cemented with chunam, or Indian lime, and faced with a light buff-coloured earth, which pulverises at the slightest touch. The eastern fortress is in a miserable state of internal decay. It is protected by thirty pieces of ordnance, all honeycombed, excepting two or three Portuguese brass guns mounted on wretched wooden carriages. The fortress is garrisoned by about two hundred Askarries or Sepoys, who reside there altogether, and are under the command of an old Killedar or Jemadar, who inhabits the loftiest turret. These Askarries, as well as the rest of the Imaum's ordinary establishment of troops, (three thousand in number,) receive from three to five dollars per month each, finding their own spear, sword, matchlock, and small circular shield.

Surrounded on all sides, excepting the south-west, by high rocks, Muscat is, between November and May, so exceedingly hot that the Persians call it *jenaham*, or hell; though I could not learn that the *average* temperature was more than ninety degrees Fahrenheit in the shade: the highest, at the worst of times, is one hundred and twenty degrees. Between December and May the thermometer ranges from fifty-six to seventy degrees. The enclosed space around Muscat extends over a rocky soil

to a distance of a mile and a half or two miles. The communication with the interior of the country subject to the Imaum, is round the western rock to Muttra, whence there are beaten roads for about a hundred miles in every direction. The districts situated within these limits are extremely fertile, yielding abundance of fruit, (such as mangoes, peaches, pomegranates, plantains, grapes, dates, sweet limes, lemons, oranges, walnuts, and water melons,) vegetables and flowers. The chief of the latter, next the rose, is the *yasmeen*, or jasmine, which here grows in great perfection. There is very little pasturage in the interior, and the trees that grow are small and brittle, sufficing only for fuel, and timber for the construction of light barks and boats. The country abounds with game; and horses, descended from the Nedjd mares, are foaled in great numbers, and reared with care.

The trade of Muscat consists of the following articles; viz. IMPORTS—cotton, iron, piece goods, rice, sugar candy, sugar, pitch, tar, rope, hemp, and coffee. EXPORTS—dates, almonds, kissmiss, (a small raisin,) dry limes, pottery, matting, wheat, and horses. The places with which trade is carried on, are the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, Calcutta, the Eastern Islands, the Burmese Empire, the Isle of France, Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and African coast. The Imaum participates slightly in the trade, but not, as it is said, greatly to his advantage. On all imports the Imaum levies a charge of five per cent. *ad valorem*; he derives a further revenue from a tax of ten per cent., in kind, on all internal produce. These duties and taxes are farmed to resident Banian (Hindoo) merchants for about one hundred thousand dollars each. No

land tax is levied. The government of the Imaum is of the mildest character of which despotism is susceptible; and the people who acknowledge his sway, appear to be exceedingly happy.

Of the general characteristics of the Muscat Arabs, differing so slightly as they do from the Arabs of the Gulf of Persia, much need not be said; but a brief notice of some of their customs may not be amiss. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies, for example, are singular and original. The first is solemnized in private houses. The parties seldom marry before they have attained their twentieth year, in which respect they differ essentially from the Mahomedans in India. A young man affects a girl; he proposes to her father. If she agrees, she empowers a cazee to communicate her sanction. On a subsequent day a feast is given by the young man—the wife is brought to him in state, and—*c'est finie!* A man can cast off his wife at pleasure, and marry again; but, in doing so, he must restore every thing he received with the first. Funerals take place on the same day that the individual dies, in order to guard against the unpleasant consequences of rapid putrescence. The obsequies are very simple, the body being merely wrapped in a white cloth, and then interred. Men mourn within their houses for several days, according to the affinity of the deceased relative, or the depth of their grief; fifteen days are generally the utmost period. Subsequently, the mourners wear coarse cotton clothing, of a black colour. Women mourn for a longer time than the men. A woman must not quit her house, nor wear any colour but black, for four months and ten days; after that period she grieves *à discretion*.

Surgery, after a fashion, is practised in Muscat, but medicine is little understood.

The laws of the Khoran are administered by a cazee, except in cases of importance, when the Imaum presides in person. Robbery and murder are not very common in Muscat. The commission of the former is punished by mutilation, banishment, and imprisonment; the latter crime is visited with death.

There are fifteen small schools, within the town, where the rudiments of Arabic are taught, and one larger school, or college, supported by government, where the education is of a higher order, and whence the cazees for the interior districts are selected.

The manufactures in Muscat and its neighbourhood are considerable for the size of the place, and comprise pottery, (porous jugs and bowls,) matts, cotton and silk piece goods, a pleasant sweetmeat called *halwa*, (compounded of the glutinous property of wheat, sugar, and clarified butter, and much in demand in India and Persia) woollen cloths, small carpets, swords, fire-arms, daggers, spears, and brass cannons.

The fish of Muscat are very plentiful, and some of an excellent flavour. One species, about the size of a sprat, covers the whole surface of the cove before sunrise, and then disappears; when salted they resemble the *sardine*, and are an excellent *bonne-bouche* at the breakfast table. Fishermen pay a small tax on each boat-load of fish, which is farmed like the rest of the Muscat imposts.

The coins in use are the gaz, a small copper coin, and the Spanish dollar. Twenty gaz make one mahmoodie, (an imaginary coin,) and fourteen mahmoodies and a half one dollar.

B.—BUSSORAH.

Bussorah, so dear to our youthful recollections as the Balsora of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, has received from each traveller a passing notice, but few have taken the trouble to furnish a statistical account of the city and environs, probably from a belief that others have already forestalled them. Like most cities in Turkey and Persia, Bussorah consists of houses built of bricks dried in the sun, which endure for ages if kept tolerably dry. The clay used in making the bricks is far from being moist, but in almost a dry state is beaten into the moulds with mallets, a process which gives them a wonderful degree of hardness. The houses in Bussorah are all coated with mud, and having no windows which look into the streets, the latter present a dreary and uninteresting spectacle. Around the city is a high mud wall, said to measure eight miles in circumference. On the eastern side, however, where the city is skirted by the noble *Shut-ul-Arab*, or river of the Arabs, there is a break in the fortifications, and a creek of about forty feet in breadth, runs through the city in a westerly direction for about three miles. By means of this creek all the import and export merchandize of Bussorah is conveyed to and from the city. The shipping (chiefly from India) consequently anchor nearly abreast of the mouth of the creek, and the custom-houses, of which there are two, are placed on its banks. About a mile up the creek, on the right bank, stands the British residency, a

large and commodious building erected many years ago, but since materially improved by the present political agent, Major Taylor. The boats which navigate this rivulet are of three kinds;—large flat-bottomed boats of from thirty to one hundred and fifty tons which usually trade to Bagdad; canoes coated with bitumen, and a round basket boat, two yards in diameter, coated in the same manner. There are several gardens on the north bank of the creek, which are very productive; but the finest is that attached to the British residency, where the fruits common to Europe flourish in union with the natural produce of the country.

Within the city of Bussorah, about a quarter of a mile north of the British factory, is an open space of ground which serves as a granary, (the grain being loosely spread there and covered with matting,) and near to this is the serai or palace of the Motesellim, an extensive but remarkably plain building both within and without. Opposite this are the stables of the Motesellim, which can well accommodate two or three hundred horses. There are several mosques in Bussorah, but none possessing any external splendour; the interior of a few is, however, enamelled or painted with light blue and other colours, after the Turkish fashion. Near the old French factory, which is now merely a chapel, and a Roman Catholic priest's residence, stand two enamelled minarets, which, as if apparently in disgust with one another, incline their columns outwards, so that if a perpendicular line were drawn from the capital to the earth, the former would be found to have diverged six feet from the base. Various conjectures are offered as to this *artificial* phenomenon. Some of the inhabitants believe that a vein

of wind blew them asunder; others that the foundations have decayed, or that the earth beneath has been shaken by some sudden natural commotion; but the most general hypothesis places the wonder to the account of the architect's ingenuity, who believed, like him of the famous leaning pillar at Pisa, (two hundred feet high,) that he thereby furnished durability to the columns.

There are three bazaars at Bussorah, one of which, erected under the auspices of Daoud, the late Pacha of Bagdad, is an ornament to the city. The others are dirty and very ordinary buildings.

Bussorah is intersected by numerous canals, which supply water to the whole town from the Shut-ul-Arab, the extreme lowness of whose banks has been more than once productive of great injury to the town, by enabling the Arabs at periods of hostility, to cover the environs with water, which, stagnating, has produced the most putrid and destructive fevers.

Of the government of Bussorah but little need be said. It is under the direction of a Motesellim who, on a smaller scale, practises all the oppression, extortion, and injustice which distinguish the Pachas of more extensive districts. He keeps up a small establishment of troops, consisting of about one thousand men, divided into Tofungees, Belooches, Baratallies, and Turks, disciplined after the European system, and paid at the rate of from two to four piastres per month, and an allowance of bread daily; yet they are perfectly inadequate to defend the town against any external assaults. On such occasions, therefore, the aid of the neighbouring Arabs is courted, and the inhabitants are also required to bear arms.

The population of Bussorah is not very easily estimated, no register being kept of either births or deaths within the town. It consists of Turks, Persians, Arabs, Jews, and Armenians, and a small number of Syrians and Chaldeans, and may amount altogether to about twenty thousand souls. The Christians and Jews pay the *caratch*, or capitation tax, at the rate of two piastres and a half each per annum, excepting those (and they form no inconsiderable proportion) who enjoy the protection, or are in the employ of the British residency.

The trade of Bussorah is said to have declined materially of late years, owing, in a great measure, to the exactions of the government in the form of duties, and to the insecurity of property when once acquired. The imports and exports, according to the books of the government, did not yield, during the two years preceding 1831, more than nine hundred thousand piastres; while previously they amounted to fifteen or sixteen hundred thousand; and in 1825, to nearly two millions of piastres. The trade, as still carried on with *Bengal*, consists of imports of indigo, white piece goods, silks, and sugar; and of exports of horses, copper in slabs, old copper, gall nuts, and bullion. With Bombay there is a considerable commerce in long-cloth, English chintz and prints, Surat and other Indian piece goods, sugar candy, pepper, and spices; in return for which, Bussorah sends horses, dates, gall nuts, bullion, coins, coral, copper in slabs, and old copper. There is no trade carried on with Madras; while, from China, sugar candy only is received. The duty levied on all Bengal and European imports is seven and a half per cent.; on those from Bombay eight and a half per cent. English merchants,

however, pay but three per cent., and that only on goods actually sold in the bazaar.

The ground on which Bussorah stands is chiefly private, hereditary property, and no tax is levied thereon by government, excepting on those parts in which trees are grown. And even in this instance a singular moderation is observed, as the tax is regulated, not by the number of trees actually growing, but by the number originally planted and registered. Thus, a garden now possesses two thousand trees, but as formerly it had but five hundred, the latter is the amount for which a tax is payable, at the rate of one hundred piastres for five hundred trees.

The manufactures of this city are extremely limited in number and extent of business, consisting merely of coarse cotton cloth and woollen cloaks; and such trifles as grass mats, date leaf mats and baskets, common glass bottles, combs from Indian ebony, leathern bottles, pouches, pistol-cases, &c. There are some goldsmiths in the town, and a few indifferent workers in iron and steel.

The produce of Bussorah and its environs in fruit, vegetables, meat, &c. though not of a very varied character, is abundant for the calls of the population, and renders living consequently very cheap. Wheat, barley, and clover are likewise plentiful; and forming as they do the chief food of the cattle, horses and cows are supported at a very slight cost.

Of the laws obtaining in this quarter of the Sultaun's dominions it is difficult to say much that does not pertain to every Turkish, or rather to every Mahomedan city in the universe. There are cazees and moollahs who ex-

pound the Koran; there is corruption to screen the guilty, and confound the innocent; there is a right of appeal to the ruler, and obstruction to its exercise in every shape. No regular police is kept in the city, though a military guard goes round the town twice in each night to preserve order. This is not however sufficient protection against the depredations of the numerous thieves that infest the town. The inhabitants therefore are obliged to employ warders in each street to guard their property from invasion. The usual punishment for flagrant offences is the bastinado; but this can only be awarded by the governor presiding in person. Imprisonment is inflicted for slight crimes, the duration and severity of which punishment, however, depends on the means of the parties imprisoned to pay their jailors.*

The partiality of the law towards Mussulmans in all cases where they are at issue with Christians, is here as apparent as in the rest of the Turkish dominions.

* Criminals flying to Mohummarah, fifty miles below Bussorah, are safe from apprehension, this sanctuary being in the territory of the Chabeans.

END OF VOL. I.

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